SEPT. 25, 2023

TIME 100 NEXT



Mory Sacko

By Omar Sy

\+

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breaking conventions,
pushing back doubt,
and pulling us forwards.

They create bursts of self-expression,
grant freedom,
and bring change.

And once this happens
the finest creativity
no longer belongs to the few.
It belongs to everyone.

TIME
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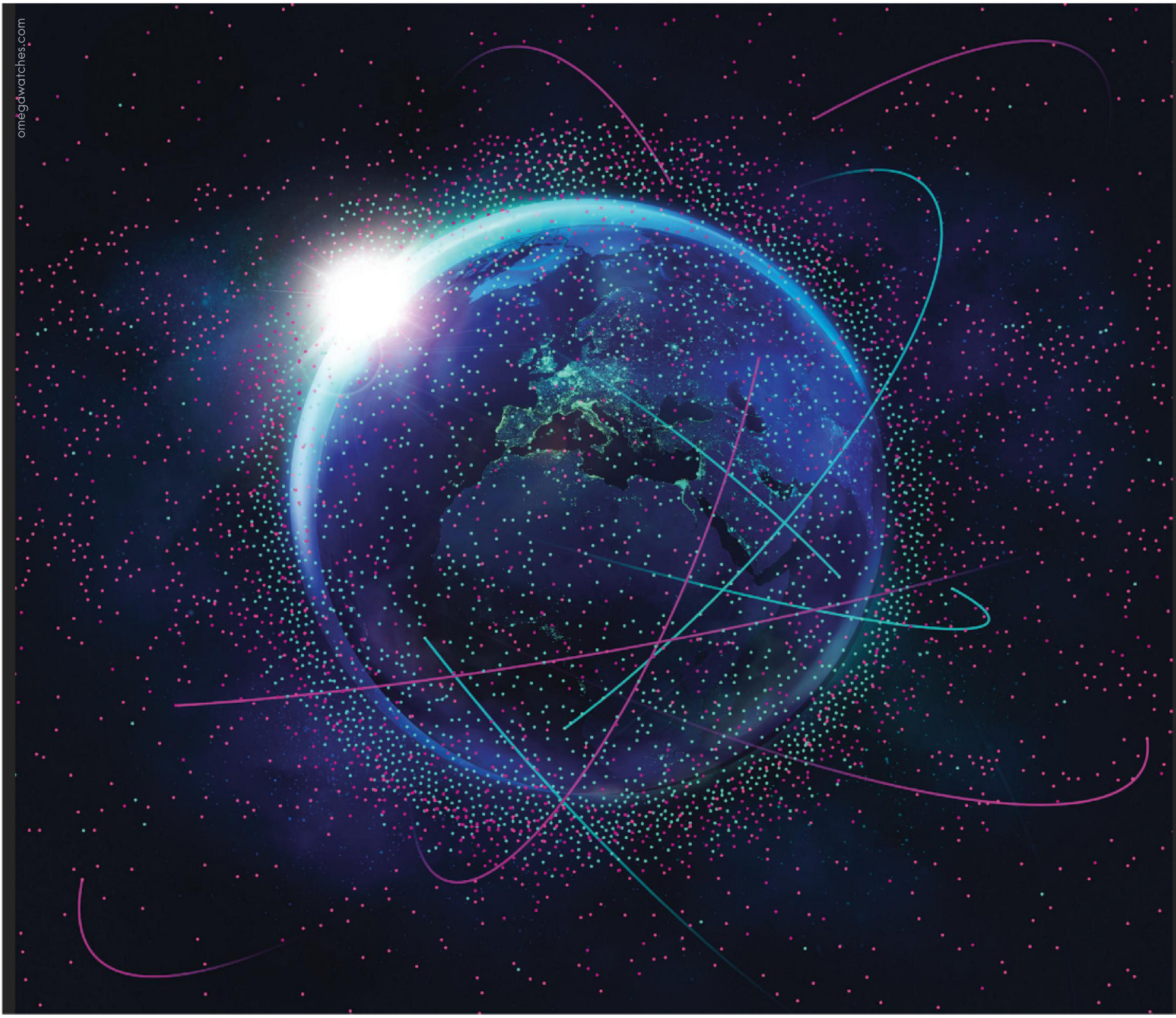
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Dr. Erica Balthrop at the Clarksdale Woman's Clinic in Clarksdale, Miss., on Aug. 2

Photograph by Lucy Garrett for TIME

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A MAP TO THE FUTURE

The future of space exploration is full of possibility. As innovation takes off, OMEGA is aiming for a sustainable tomorrow, where the path is clear in every direction. Continuing our proud legacy beyond Earth, we're now partnering with Privateer to keep track of the debris that currently surrounds our planet. By doing this, we can look confidently ahead, and ensure that nothing stops humanity from reaching the next frontier. Scan the code to learn more about the project.

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Shaping our future



TIME should not just reflect the present, it should push us forward

I FIRST HEARD WEMIMO ABBEY SPEAK IN August at the inaugural TIME Impact House in Martha's Vineyard. It was clear to everyone that night that Abbey's is a story worth sharing. Together with Samir Goel, the two co-founders have built Esusu, a five-year-old company that helps Americans use their rental history to build credit scores. Abbey, who emigrated as a 17-year-old to the U.S. from Nigeria, watched his mother struggle to repay a high-interest loan because of a lack of credit history—something without which millions of people and communities across the country are unable to access loans that can create wealth.

Abbey's example is a powerful one, showing how personal insight can inspire societal change. It demonstrates that rethinking accepted ideas can create new possibilities for millions of people. His is one of 100 stories that are told within this year's TIME100 Next.

That is the point of the TIME100 Next. In 2019, we launched the list as part of our own effort to evolve how TIME tells stories. Traditionally, with efforts like Person of the Year and TIME100, we have used the power of our spotlight to draw attention to those who have achieved peak influence in their fields. But a great magazine and a great media company should not just reflect the present, it should push us forward, showing what is possible as well as what society's future and future leaders will look like. That is our ambition for TIME100 Next, our annual franchise recognizing the rising leaders in health, climate, business, sports, the arts and more.



Abbey speaks in August at the TIME Impact House

This year's list includes dozens of individuals, like Abbey and Goal, who are engineering new solutions to society's most pressing problems. They are scientists, CEOs, artists, an astronaut, and, naturally, a librarian too: Brooklyn Public Library's Nick Higgins, who is offering teens across the country access to books banned by their local libraries.

To recognize the TIME100 Next, we invite today's leaders to pay tribute to those who are following in their footsteps. For our three cover subjects this year: Peyton Manning, who first met Jalen Hurts when Hurts was a counselor at Manning's summer football program, praises the Philadelphia Eagles quarterback, who this summer signed a contract making him the highest paid football player in history, as "a model of how to approach a job"; Shania Twain embraces 30-year-old Kelsea Ballerini as "an old soul" who knows how to seize a big moment; and actor Omar Sy celebrates the French chef Mory Sacko's secret recipe—an ability to channel the crosscurrents of multiple cultures and "give up nothing of who he is."

MAKING A LIST like the TIME100 Next requires research and reporting from across TIME's global network of editors and correspondents. We sift through hundreds of suggestions and then meet each week to debate who belongs on the list. "Through this process, we get to know so many extraordinary leaders who are creating change across the world. Our hope is that this list offers a glimpse into their important work," says Cate Matthews, a TIME editorial director.

Putting together the TIME100 Next also requires the sensibility of organizing a great dinner party. Each selection impacts the next one, as we aim to include a growing variety of future headlinemakers, emphasize the storylines that fascinate us this year, and find individuals whose talents and achievements complement the group as a whole. Fortunately, in October, we will be getting the TIME100 Next together for an actual great dinner party, hosted in New York City, where the newest members of the TIME100 community will have a chance to toast one another's accomplishments and forge new connections, all in the spirit of inspiring new possibilities.

Sam Jacobs,
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

LIMITLESS SELF EXPRESSION

How HONOR is changing the future of smartphones

There's power in who we are. In a world of algorithms and fleeting trends, it takes bold individuals to express themselves in a way that is authentically unique. While many of us turn to fashion to signal who we are to the world, wearable technology is fast becoming the most sought-after way to externally showcase our internal identity.



As a leading technology company, HONOR embraces its role in shaping tomorrow's lifestyle and is committed to breaking boundaries for an ever-changing world. "We always start by deconstructing old ideas, ripping up the rulebook" George Zhao, HONOR CEO explains, "Reconstructing from the ground up allows us to develop groundbreaking products and services that resonate with people worldwide".

This innovation can be seen in the new HONOR V Purse concept, a foldable phone that sits at the intersection of technology, fashion, and sustainability. The first-of-its-kind in the foldable arena, HONOR's new concept foldable smartphone features endlessly customizable always-on displays (AODs) on two exterior screens that mimic a handbag design. A choice of interchangeable straps and chains that clip onto the HONOR V Purse's hinge allows you to effortlessly wear your smartphone over your shoulder or carry it in your hand, just like a traditional purse.

The HONOR V Purse AOD designs are not just static images, but immersive interactive canvases that demonstrate what is possible with this new form of wearable technology. Thanks to its internal gyroscope sensor, the concept device can sense motion and gravity, and reflect this in the AOD design. On select themes, design elements can move and sway as you walk, reproducing the detail and craftsmanship of a real handbag. Some designs have interactive elements, like a charm bracelet design that can be customized with icons, designed as charms, that can be tapped to take you to apps such as Camera or Music Player.

This groundbreaking concept device allows users to create a bespoke, personalized accessory that reflects their style and unique personality without having to buy new physical products. It also provides a revolutionary new platform for fashion designers to unleash their creativity and create trends of their own without negatively impacting the environment. "In this small way, the HONOR V Purse can help environmentally conscious consumers to cut down on their consumption of fast fashion, and more importantly, it helps the fashion world embrace new technologies in order to encourage consumers to buy less and use for longer," explains George. "The HONOR V Purse is a perfect example of how we build product propositions with sustainability in mind."

Phygital fashion, the blending of digital and physical elements, is a growing phenomenon with the industry veering towards wearable tech. Between 2019 and 2022, the number of connected wearable devices worldwide increased substantially. In 2022, this number reached around 1.1 billion, up from 929 million recorded one year before.

Technology changes the way we live our lives, giving us access to endless information in a matter of seconds and right through our fingertips. As we see incredible advancements in wearable tech and devices that connect people around the world, HONOR has been tirelessly researching new materials, processes, form factors, and even interdisciplinary studies, in a bid to consider what's next for smartphones.

> **Our brand ethos is to develop technology that helps to make the world a better place," remarks George. "With the new HONOR V Purse concept, we can conceive of a device with the potential to open new possibilities for people's lifestyle, changing how they express themselves, and setting a powerful new direction for the future of foldable development.**

As the fashion landscape continues to evolve and customers desire increasingly personalized experiences tailored to their own unique view of the world, HONOR is sending a clear message to its customers: It's time to be authentically you.

On the covers



Behind the scenes of TIME100 Next

Above, for one of this year's TIME100 Next covers, Krista Schlueter photographs Jalen Hurts, the quarterback who led the Philadelphia Eagles in the Super Bowl, at a training facility in New Jersey. At right, Caroline Tompkins photographs Kelsea Ballerini, a chart-topping country singer, in a New York City brownstone. Learn more about Hurts, Ballerini, and their fellow cover star French chef Mory Sacko in profiles and videos on **time.com**



Cover photographs by Krista Schlueter, Caroline Tompkins, and Tarek Mawad for TIME



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Action!

With the blockbusters of summer behind us, TIME put together a list of 35 anticipated movies coming out between Labor Day and Thanksgiving, from Martin Scorsese's *Killers of the Flower Moon* to a new take on *The Exorcist.* The list includes both movies coming to theaters and those headed straight to streaming. See the picks at **time.com/fall-movies-2023**

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SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

In "The Healing Sea" (Sept. 4), we misstated the impact of Pristine Seas' 26 marine protected areas; they contributed to a 7% increase in the amount of ocean protected.

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The Brief



TESTING A CITY OF IMMIGRANTS

BY SANYA MANSOOR

New York struggles to accommodate tens of thousands of migrants bused from other states

INSIDE

TAYLOR SWIFT'S TOUR IS BOOSTING ECONOMIES

THE REAL IMPACT OF SHOPPING AT BIG-BOX STORES

HOW TO CONSUME ONLINE MENTAL-HEALTH CONTENT

PHOTOGRAPH BY JEENAH MOON

ALI SAYYID, FATHER OF SIX, TRIES TO QUICKLY change direction when his children hear the sound of an ice cream truck coming down a New York City street. He can't afford it. "In Afghanistan, life was good and they were eating everything," says Sayyid, who was a civil engineer before the Taliban's 2021 takeover. He fled with his family first to Brazil and then across the southern border into the U.S., an epochal journey that landed him not only in a new land, but also in its politics.

Sayyid is among more than 100,000 migrants who have arrived in New York City over the past year. It's an influx that threatens to overwhelm the carrying capacity of a city that has made opening its arms to newcomers so fundamental to its identity (see: the Statue of Liberty) that Southern and Southwestern governors set out to test it—busing tens of thousands of newly arrived migrants from Texas, Florida, and Arizona to 42nd Street and Eighth Avenue, the Port Authority Bus Terminal.

"Never in my life have I had a problem that I did not see an ending to—I don't see an ending to this," Mayor Eric Adams told a gathering on Sept. 6. "This issue will destroy New York City."

In a nation of immigrants, New York may qualify as the capital. Almost 40% of its 8.4 million residents were born in another country. Two-thirds of the population in its five boroughs are either immigrants themselves or the children of immigrants. But the pace at which the recent migrants have arrived, deliberately intended to stress-test the safety net—and assumptions—of a Democratic stronghold, is unprecedented.

New York City's right-to-shelter law means officials cannot legally turn away anyone seeking shelter. But the city and state have been fighting in court over the best way to house the migrants: the city sued more than 30 New York counties for issuing emergency executive orders meant to ban the city from arranging asylum seekers to stay in private hotels in their jurisdictions. Sayyid is staying at the Roosevelt, which is a designated arrival center in addition to functioning as a shelter, but getting the space required waiting in line for 10 hours at a stretch for two days. He is so nervous about losing it that he asked that his name not be published; "Sayyid" is a pseudonym.

In June, as those shelters neared capacity, the city created 206 emergency shelters, including so-called respite centers in school gymnasiums and parking lots. Many are bare-bones spaces providing little more than cots and a few meals.

"The respite centers are at the bottom of the barrel," says Mammad Mahmoodi, co-founder of EV Loves NYC, a nonprofit focused on food insecurity. Because they are not permanent shelters, rules on cot spacing and the number of bathrooms per people can be overlooked, he says.

THEN THERE'S THE ICE CREAM TRUCK. Without jobs, the newcomers not only can't afford treats for their kids, they're also not going to be able to afford a place to live. So advocates, migrants, and New York politicians are increasingly focused on the kludgy process for getting federal work permits. Migrants need to wait 180 days, or six months, after filing for asylum to qualify for a work permit, and those requests are taking about two months to process, according to a Department of Homeland Security (DHS) official. "We need the federal government to allow asylum seekers to work, so they can provide for themselves and their families," said Adams. Governor Kathy Hochul has said something similar.

> **'The security talks with us like we are animals, says we are strangers in this country.'**
>
> —**ELKHALIL MOHAMED SELMA**, MIGRANT FROM MAURITANIA

But the Biden Administration has recommended that New York improve its end of the process. The waiting period for work permits is meant to discourage misuse by those without credible asylum claims, and DHS notes that because the 180 days is written into statute, the agency does not have control over it—Congress does. Many on the other side of the issue argue that allowing migrants to work would incentivize crossing outside the legal process. Some migrants resort to working cash jobs in construction or delivery, but Sayyid says he won't; if the police found out, it could tank his asylum case. "I will not put my family at risk," he says.

A loose web of nonprofits and aid groups has developed to help migrants with everything from basic necessities like food, bedding, socks, and hygiene kits to legal advice. EV Loves NYC says it delivers about 2,000 meals across the city on Sundays. (Sayyid relies on the group for halal meals.) Power Malu, an organizer from the aid group Artists Athletes Activists, sets up every Friday at a church in midtown Manhattan, where volunteers—including city employees helping in their free time, Legal Aid attorneys, and bilingual English teachers—gather to address the gaps in caseworker and legal services.

But the issues of work and housing persist. On a recent Friday, three men from Mauritania wait at the church to connect with a volunteer attorney. Elkhalil Mohamed Selma, 24, says he has been staying at a respite center for almost two months. "The security talks with us like we are animals, says we are strangers in this country," Selma says. Every day, he and the other two men go try and find work; every day, they come back without a job. ▯

The Brief includes reporting by Olivia B. Waxman and Julia Zorthian

PREVIOUS PAGE: THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX



Once in a big, blue moon

A blue supermoon captivated stargazers worldwide on Aug. 30, including these hikers atop Piestewa Peak in Phoenix. Balloon-like supermoons are common, appearing larger because the full moon is at its closest approach to Earth. But blue moons—the second full moon within a month—are rarities, so blue supermoons can go as much as 20 years between occurrences.

MOON: ROB SCHUMACHER—THE REPUBLIC/USA TODAY NETWORK/REUTERS; SWIFT: EMMA MCINTYRE—TAS RIGHTS MANAGEMENT/GETTY IMAGES

THE BULLETIN

The staggering economic impact of Taylor Swift's Eras Tour

YOU DON'T HAVE TO BE A SWIFTIE TO have been touched by Taylor Swift's Eras Tour, which kicked off in March and ended its first U.S. leg on Aug. 9. The tour, which pays homage to every era of the artist's 17-year career, is set to become the biggest of all time a third of the way through its run: analysts estimate ticket sales will hit $1 billion in March, surpassing the current record-holder, Elton John's farewell tour, on its way to a projected gross of $2.2 billion in North American ticket sales alone.

BOOSTING LOCAL ECONOMIES The money goes far deeper than ticket sales. The Eras Tour is projected to generate close to $5 billion in consumer spending in the U.S. alone, with fans dropping an estimated $1,300 to $1,500 on ancillary local spending for things like outfits, dining, and travel. Illinois Governor J.B. Pritzker credited Swift with reviving the state's tourism industry after three nights in Chicago; world leaders from Chile to Canada have courted her to come through.

MERCH AND VINYL Swift's fans line up for hours to snag exclusive tour merchandise and clamor to get their hands on physical copies of her music, even in the digital age. She accounted for every 25th vinyl record sold in 2022, boosted by reissues, extras, and releasing various editions.

DEPTH, BREADTH, TIMING The Eras Tour likely owes a measure of its success to its post-pandemic timing, and the itch of concertgoers for an immersive live-music experience. But its unmatched triumph is of a piece with the career it both celebrates and amplifies. Swift is uniquely connected to her body of work—writing all of her songs, fiercely protecting her music in the streaming boom, and rerecording her discography to reclaim the master rights. The latest re-recording is due in October, as is a theatrical film of the concert. But the power of the tour, which has dates across five continents scheduled through late 2024, is driven by her extraordinary connection to her fans. —MARIAH ESPADA *and* JEANNIE KOPSTEIN



GOOD QUESTION

What is Florida's 'hurricane tax'?

BY ALEJANDRO DE LA GARZA

IN FLORIDA, IT WON'T BE JUST THOSE with homes and businesses hit by Hurricane Idalia who might be stuck picking up the pieces. Thanks to a broken home-insurance market, a particularly bad hurricane could spread financial fallout throughout the state, leaving residents from Pensacola to Key West paying repair bills for years.

Beset by hurricanes made more severe and more frequent by climate change, as well as rampant fraud and tides of frivolous lawsuits, dozens of insurers in the state have closed up shop or stopped selling new home-insurance policies in recent years (Farmers became the most recent big insurer to pull out of the state in July). Residents have increasingly turned to Citizens Property Insurance Corporation, a public entity established by the Florida government as the state's so-called insurer of last resort for people unable to find affordable rates from private insurers. But for many, Citizens is becoming the first and only option, especially for those with coastal homes at particular risk from hurricanes. In 2019, Citizens had about 400,000 home-insurance policies on its books; today, it has more than 1.3 million, about twice as many as the state's next-largest insurer.



A canal in Horseshoe Beach, Fla., riddled with debris after Hurricane Idalia in August

With so many homeowners using Citizens policies, each hurricane season becomes a financial roll of the dice for almost every Floridian. When a normal insurance company takes big losses, it goes bankrupt. But if hurricane winds destroy too many homes covered by Citizens policies and the insurer faces bigger bills than it can afford to pay, the public company won't go belly up. Instead, such an event can trigger what is known as an "assessment," wherein state law mandates that Citizens imposes fees on private insurance policies across the state in order to cover its payouts. And it's not just property-insurance policyholders that may have to pull out the checkbook. If you live in Florida and have auto insurance, but can't afford to own a home, you can still be stuck contributing to funds that pay for homeowners to rebuild after a big storm. "We have many low-income households that are literally living paycheck to paycheck," says Mark Friedlander, a spokesperson for the Insurance Information Institute, a trade group. "They can't afford this."

That situation last occurred after the storms of the 2004–2005 hurricane season, which had Florida residents paying off Citizens' $1.7 billion tab though 2015. Currently, the insurer has about $4.8 billion in the bank. It's unlikely Idalia's effects will break that budget. But months remain in the Atlantic hurricane season, and the increasingly warm waters offshore can serve as fuel for powerful storms. "We probably only need one or two more [hurricanes] to make landfall before Citizens has to do an assessment," says Charles Nyce, a professor of risk management and insurance at Florida State University. "When you have 1.3 million policyholders, that $4.8 billion is going to go very quickly."

THERE'S NO EASY SOLUTION. Laws passed in the Florida legislature last year have cut down on some of the fraud and excessive legal filings that had been choking the state's private insurers, and Citizens is trying to off-load some of its bloated policy roster to the private market. But other forces are pushing in the wrong direction.

One reason Citizens is flooded with policies is that it's legally barred from raising rates fast enough to stay in line with sharp increases on the private market. The Florida state government recently rejected a request from Citizens' management to impose a 12.1% rate hike. That decision may keep prices lower for policyholders, but ultimately could cost more residents in the longer term. As Friedlander puts it, "It's a recipe for a hurricane tax that would be applied to all Florida consumers." ◻

MILESTONES

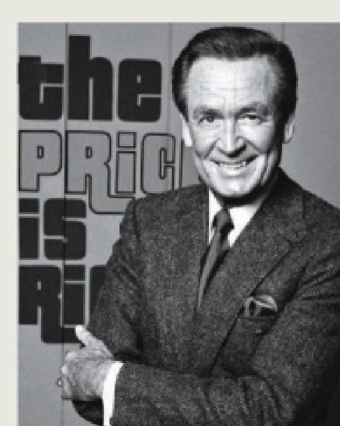
DIED

Bob Barker

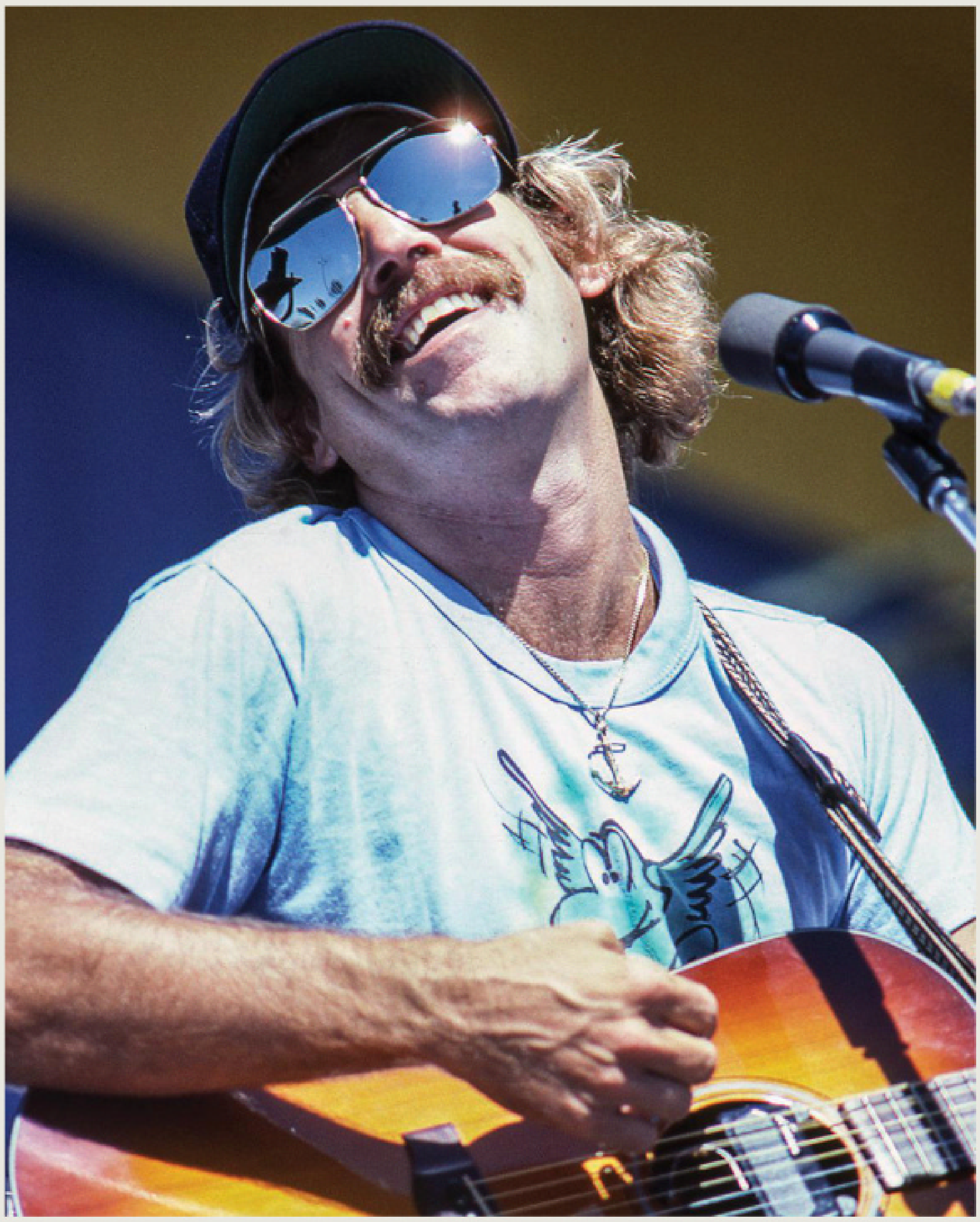
Enduring host

It was only fitting that the longest-running game show in North America, *The Price Is Right,* was home to the host who became synonymous with television longevity: Bob Barker, who helmed the CBS show from 1972 to 2007, and died Aug. 26 at 99.

Television came into Barker's life in the 1950s, when, after making a name for himself in radio, he hosted his first game show, *Truth or Consequences,* an NBC fixture that dated from 1940. He hosted it until the mid-1970s, even as it coincided with the dawn of his *The Price Is Right* era. Following his retirement from *The Price Is Right* in 2007, Barker focused on animal-rights activism—a cause he had embraced for decades, and championed on air. In 2015, he returned to *The Price Is Right* as an April Fool's joke, thrilling audiences. "I know the world is full of fools," he said at the time, "but I am a carefully selected fool, and it is a pleasure to be with you." —*Mahita Gajanan*



FLORIDA: CHENEY ORR—REUTERS; BARKER: CBS PHOTO ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES; BUFFETT: ED PERLSTEIN—REDFERNS/GETTY IMAGES; TRUMP: FULTON COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE/AP



DIED

Jimmy Buffett

Laid-back superstar

IF YOU HAD TO ASSIGN A COLOR to Jimmy Buffett's perennially laid-back sound, it would be a vivid Caribbean blue, the hue of a tropical sky and sea merged into one breezy swirl. Buffett, who died on Sept. 1 at age 76, wasn't just a singer-songwriter; he was a vibe, one that millions of fans warmed to.

But if his biggest hit, the 1977 "Margaritaville," spoke of a boozy, barefoot, carefree lifestyle, there was nothing lackadaisical about his business sense. His numerous ventures, including Jimmy Buffett's Margaritaville restaurant chain, made him a very rich man, though in real life, he knew when to abandon the heavy-duty partying. By the late 1980s he'd turned to writing books, three of which—beginning with 1989's *Tales From Margaritaville*—became No. 1 best sellers. Not bad for an artist who made a name for himself by spinning dreams of lounging around Key West, fruity drink in hand. His legacy represents hope for unambitious people everywhere.

—STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

BOOKED

Donald Trump

A not-guilty plea

There are a lot of firsts when it comes to Donald Trump. The first President to be impeached twice. The first former President to be indicted on federal charges. And most recently, the first former President to have a mug shot taken.



The world has seen hundreds of thousands of pictures of Trump over the decades, but the image released by Georgia authorities on Aug. 24 after he was booked on more than a dozen felony counts may be the most famous of all. Platinum blond cotton-candy wisp of hair shimmering in the harsh jailhouse lighting, eyes locked in a hard stare, the historic image immediately generated attention around the world from both detractors and supporters, becoming a political talking point that has so far resonated with Republican voters.

Days later, on Aug. 31, Trump pleaded not guilty to charges related to his alleged efforts to overturn the 2020 election loss in Georgia. Fani Willis, the Fulton County district attorney, charged Trump with 13 counts, including violating state racketeering laws and soliciting a public official to violate his oath of office, conspiring to commit forgery in the first degree, conspiring to file false documents, and making false statements. Trump has now been charged in four separate criminal cases related to his business and political activities, bringing his total criminal charges to date to 91. The cases—in New York, Florida, Washington, D.C., and Georgia—are expected to play out over the coming months, setting up a long string of legal battles that will overlap with next year's presidential primaries as he runs to retake the White House. U.S. District Judge Tanya Chutkan set the date for trial on four federal charges in a Washington case for March 4, the day before Super Tuesday.

—Nik Popli

DIED

▸ Samuel Joseph Wurzelbacher, who **became known as Joe the Plumber** after asking then candidate Barack Obama about tax policy during the 2008 presidential campaign, at 49 on Aug. 27.

DIED

▸ Former Energy Secretary, U.N. ambassador, and **New Mexico governor Bill Richardson** at 75 on Sept. 1.

▸ **Steve Harwell**, former lead singer of Smash Mouth, at 56 on Sept. 4.

FILED

Singer Joe Jonas of Jonas Brothers and DNCE, for divorce, from *Game of Thrones* **actor Sophie Turner,** on Sept. 5 after four years of marriage; they have two children, ages 3 and 1.

CONSIDERING

A name change **from India to Bharat,** by Prime Minister Narendra Modi's government, which replaced the nation's name on dinner invitations sent to guests at the G-20 summit.

FIRED

The coach of Spain's women's soccer team, **Jorge Vilda,** on Sept. 5, days after the Spanish football federation's president was suspended after forcibly kissing a player on the mouth.



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ECONOMY

Small grocers are hurting. My buying habits don't help

BY ALANA SEMUELS

EVERY WEEK, I GO ONTO WALMART'S WEBSITE AND order a bunch of groceries to be delivered to my house, and then feel a little bit guilty.

By shopping at Walmart, I am likely contributing to the demise of the independently owned grocery store, which is disappearing across the country. But the prices make the choice easy. On a recent day, a 42-oz. tub of Quaker Oats was $9.99 at Key Foods and $5.68 at Walmart; a 500-ml bottle of California Olive Ranch olive oil was $14.49 vs. $8.37; and Rao's homemade tomato sauce was $9.99 vs. $6.88. These prices are one major reason Walmart captures 1 in 4 grocery dollars in America.

That may not last. These days, the U.S. government appears ready to listen to the argument that Walmart and other big chains including Dollar General, which is expanding at a rapid clip across the country, come by those prices unfairly because of their market power. There's a law on the books—1936's Robinson-Patman Act—that essentially says suppliers in any industry can't give lower prices and special deals to big chain stores if it costs the same to serve them as other stores. The law also says retailers can't bully suppliers into giving those discounts. But because Walmart and dollar stores are so huge, representing a big part of a supplier's business, they're able to extract deals and low prices from suppliers, according to Small Business Rising and the Main Street Competition Coalition, two groups of independent business owners making their case in congressional hearings and television ads. It's not just groceries; independent pharmacies, bookstores, auto-parts stores, and other types of retailers are also struggling on an uneven playing field, they say.

Walmart's leverage may seem like a good deal for consumers like me. In an era of runaway inflation, who doesn't want the lowest prices they can get? But the rise of Walmart does indeed contribute to the demise of independent stores, the grocers say. Since suppliers lose money by giving discounts to stores like Walmart, they increase the prices they charge to other stores, a phenomenon economists call the "waterbed effect." The higher-priced stores struggle, lose customers, and go out of business. Then the big-box stores, their dominance established and their competitors wiped out, raise prices. During the pandemic, that meant consumers living in lower-income areas far from big-box stores weren't able to get the groceries they needed. "Everyone deserves access to healthy foods and eating options," says Latisha Brunson, a councilwoman in Pine Bluff, Ark., where a grocery store closed in November 2022. Her ward does still have dollar stores with shelf-stable products, but now residents can't shop for fresh food without a car.



A Walmart store in San Leandro, Calif., in August

Neither Walmart, Dollar General, nor Dollar Tree, which also owns Family Dollar, returned a request for comment.

FOR A LONG TIME, from when it was passed until the late 1960s, Robinson-Patman was "a prime enforcement priority" of the Federal Trade Commission, says John Kirkwood, an antitrust expert at Seattle University School of Law. But the field of antitrust underwent a populist revolution starting in the late 1960s and 1970s, in which academics, lawyers, and eventually judges decided it was more important to prioritize consumer welfare than small businesses. A 1969 report by Ralph Nader excoriated the FTC for protecting small businesses, arguing that doing so drove up prices for consumers.

In the wake of this populist push, the FTC and Justice Department slowed the pace of bringing Robinson-Patman cases. Those they did bring were less and less successful, until it became extremely difficult to win one, says Kirkwood, who was the lead counsel on one such case filed by the FTC, in 1988.

> 'There's no transparency whatsoever.'
>
> —DAVID SMITH, PRESIDENT, ASSOCIATED WHOLESALE GROCERS

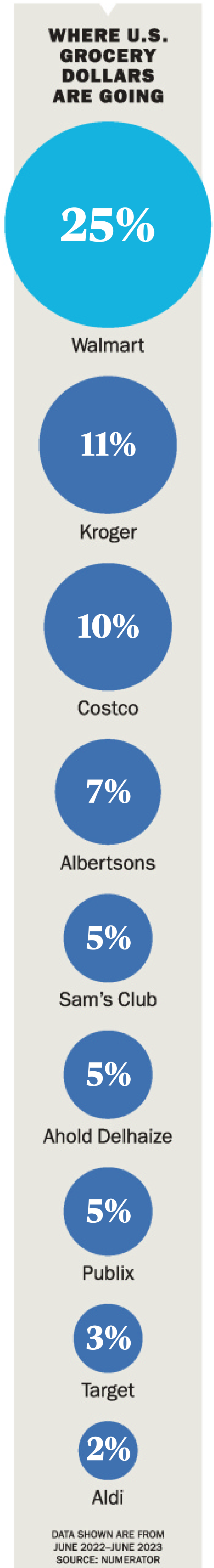


DAVID PAUL MORRIS—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES

But today, the argument that big chains need to be reined in is regaining traction with the FTC. Under Chair Lina Khan, appointed in 2021, the FTC has embarked on an aggressive path of antitrust enforcement; in March, Khan said that the agency wanted to bring more cases under the law "in short order." Meanwhile, FTC Commissioner Alvaro Bedoya has embarked on a national listening tour, meeting with independent grocery stores and pharmacy operators and talking about how Robinson-Patman enforcement could help them thrive.

"I do think that the corporate power in this country is such that slowly, folks—no matter what their politics are—are starting to say this is too much," Bedoya told a room of people in July as he visited Oasis, an independent grocery store that opened in 2021 in North Tulsa, Okla., after the city passed an ordinance limiting the proliferation of dollar stores. "My hope is that five or 10 or 15 years from now, there will be bipartisan agreement that we need to work harder to protect small businesses like Oasis."

That government officials are standing up for independent businesses represents a sea change in how



we think about what's good and bad for the U.S. shopper. For decades, the FTC and Justice Department have focused antitrust enforcement on protecting consumers from monopolies that can drive up prices, concluding that if shoppers are getting a good deal, there's no reason for the government to step in. Enforcing Robinson-Patman means the government would focus less on whether I'm getting a good deal on groceries and more on whether the fabric of my community is better off with the status quo: the biggest grocery stores and box stores aren't evenly distributed around the country—they tend to be clumped in more affluent, suburban areas, says Bedoya.

Rural and urban areas are disproportionately served by independent grocers, and they go out of business when dollar and big-box stores come in and undercut those grocers on price. A Walmart located in the suburbs, even if it's just eight or nine miles from a center city, is not a good solution for neighborhoods where people don't have cars or access to consistent public transit.

"What you're left with is some of the poorest people in the country, some of the people in the most underserved areas, are left without a place to buy fresh groceries or just groceries, period," Bedoya says.

OF COURSE, IT MAKES some sense today that Walmart would get lower prices from a cereal company or juice seller. It's ordering huge amounts of product, and that sheer volume creates efficiencies that arguably save suppliers money. But the grocers are arguing that Walmart and big boxes aren't actually creating efficiencies—while still using their size to extract deals.

Instead of waiting for the FTC to act, many independent grocers have banded together into cooperatives so they'll have more bargaining power. Those giant co-ops buy billions of dollars of groceries and have warehouses all around the country, just like Walmart does. Associated Wholesale Grocers, for instance, is a food co-op that serves 3,400 member supermarkets, representing $24 billion in sales. By contrast, there are 4,631 Walmarts in the U.S. AWG buys goods by the truckload rather than the case, so a supplier sends a truck to its warehouse in the same way it would send a truck to Walmart, says David Smith, AWG's president and chief executive officer.

Smith, who grew up in the grocery business, says that back in the 1970s, when Robinson-Patman was enforced, suppliers would issue rate cards to tell grocery stores how much an item cost. The amount on the card depended on how much the stores bought: a case, a pallet, and a full truckload of a product would all have different rates. But after three decades of Walmart growing and gaining market power, he says, now "there's no transparency whatsoever. And what's happening is efficiency is being surpassed by leverage."

Walmart now accounts for 25% of all groceries purchased, compared with around 10% at competitors like Kroger and Costco, says Jason Goldberg, chief commerce strategy officer at Publicis Group. According to AWG, its stores average about 35,000 sq. ft.; the average Walmart is



A man climbs into the fridge for milk at a Walmart in Rosemead, Calif., last November

around 110,000 sq. ft., says Goldberg, so the latter inevitably buys more product overall—leading to better prices offered to the bigger buyers.

Indeed, suppliers haven't issued list prices to retailers in decades, Goldberg says; instead, they sit down with retailers and negotiate prices along with joint marketing spending and product placement. Deals are very hard to compare because they have so many moving parts, but one thing is for sure: "The retailers with the least leverage are going to pay the most," he says, "and the biggest retailers with the most leverage are going to pay the least."

The grocers say the discounts Walmart gets are not commensurate with the efficiencies the company creates. Many store owners have experiences like that of R.F. Buche, who owns 23 independent grocery, convenience, and hardware stores in South Dakota. He will sometimes walk into a Walmart and see lower prices on the shelves than he can get wholesale through AWG. In December, for instance, Walmart was selling a dozen eggs for $2.27 when he was buying them for $3; Walmart was selling iceberg lettuce for $1.88 a head when he was getting it for $4.46. "My customers just don't understand when they look at my shelf price and Walmart's shelf price," says Buche. He's had to sell three stores since 2019 because it was impossible to keep them afloat.

Suppliers' allegiance to Walmart solidified during the pandemic, say Buche and other grocers. Because Walmart makes up such a big share of a supplier's business, they could demand on-time delivery even during the pandemic, when everything was running late. In September 2020, Walmart told suppliers they needed to be making on-time and in-full shipments 98% of the time or face steep fines; as a result, suppliers shifted whatever they had available to Walmart. Buche and independent grocers, on the other hand, couldn't get the items their customers needed, and so their customers switched over to the big-box stores.

Suppliers mince no words explaining how dependent they are on Walmart; in regulatory filings, giants like Kraft Heinz and Nestlé mention Walmart by name, explaining that consolidation in grocery has led to retailers with increased purchasing power, and that those retailers can demand lower pricing and more favorable terms.

'Everyone deserves access to healthy foods.'

—LATISHA BRUNSON, PINE BLUFF, ARK., COUNCILWOMAN

THERE ARE INDUSTRY WATCHERS who say enforcement of Robinson-Patman would result in higher prices for consumers. By enforcing the law, said former FTC Commissioner Joshua Wright at a Cato Institute event in 2022, the government would not be prioritizing consumer welfare, but would be instead just assuming that "big is bad."

That is a real question for consumers: whether the FTC's enforcement of Robinson-Patman could drive prices up. Economists are still divided; some studies show enforcement would drive up prices, others suggest it wouldn't. If the FTC can somehow prove that enforcement won't raise consumer costs, and will instead create a country with big chain stores and small independents with similar prices, it may have a fighting chance at restarting enforcement after more than 30 years. But it's going to be an uphill battle.

Any cases filed under Robinson-Patman will likely eventually end up in appeals courts and maybe even the Supreme Court, and both are likely to take a dim view of it because they are so conservative, says Kirkwood. "You'd have to go up against these judges [who think] it's the left-wing FTC trying to revive the Robinson-Patman Act," he says.

I like the idea of shopping at the independents after all, but my pocketbook vastly prefers the cheap prices at Walmart. I suppose I should be willing to pay a little more so that Americans living far from a big-box store can also get fresh groceries, but it's hard to volunteer to pay higher prices on behalf of an unknown fellow citizen. In the meantime, Walmart is gaining even more leverage when people like me decide to shop there, making the independents' fight for equal prices even harder. ☐

FREDERIC J. BROWN—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

5 red flags for online mental-health content

BY ANGELA HAUPT

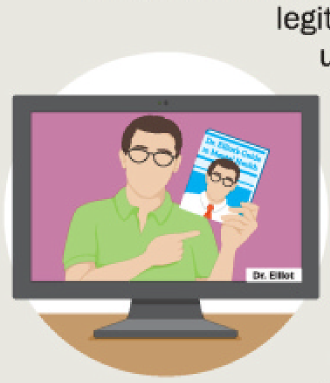
THE CLASSIC VISION OF THERAPY REVOLVED AROUND A PERSON ON A COUCH, SUPINE, TAPPING into their deepest and darkest hopes and fears to a seated guy with a beard. A modern-day remix might look like this: still on a couch, but at home, scrolling through a constantly refreshing selection of mental-health content on social media platforms like TikTok and Instagram. Though it may feel therapeutic, experts advise proceeding with caution. As an increasing number of psychologists step into the role of mental-health influencer, opening the door to fame and financial incentives, their posts are reaching millions of people. It can be difficult to suss out which so-called experts are credible and whether their information is trustworthy—risking misinformation and harmful misunderstandings.

If your algorithm is feeding you mental-health content, keep an eye out for these red flags



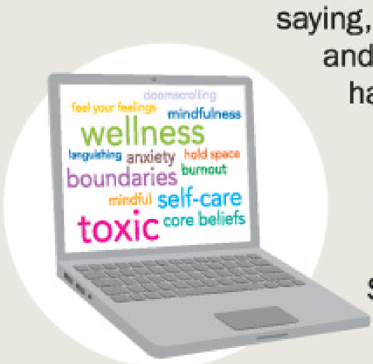
1. The person running the account doesn't share their credentials

Most credible mental-health influencers will be transparent about their training, licensure, and areas of expertise. Victoria Riordan, an Ohio-based licensed professional clinical counselor, suggests checking the account's bio. That's where many practitioners specify whether they are, for example, a psychiatrist, a social worker, or something that perhaps doesn't require specific training or regulation, like a life coach. If you're not seeing much information, search the person's name online. If they're legitimate, "they're going to come up on Psychology Today, LinkedIn, or their own private-practice website," Riordan says.



2. They're trying to sell you something

It's natural for psychologists to utilize their social media platforms to promote things like online courses and books they've written, notes Genesis Games, a psychotherapist in Miami. "But if all their content leads you back to their storefront, that means they're more concerned about making you their customer than providing quality education," she says. "There's a difference between saying, 'These things are resources,'" and posting exclusively to hawk products.



3. Posts are jargon-heavy

Therapy speak is infiltrating everyday language. Mollie Spiesman, a licensed clinical social worker in New York City, cautions social media users to keep an eye out for accounts that turn these types of therapy terms (like *boundaries*) into buzzwords. Trustworthy practitioners "typically aren't using therapy terms and therapy jargon, because they want to make therapy and mental health more approachable and digestible," she says.

4. Practitioners promote self-diagnosis



A rule of thumb from Spiesman: never diagnose yourself or others. Social media is often fixated on labels: if you do these five things, you're depressed—or you're a narcissist or have ADHD or are on the autism spectrum. "What I notice with clients and friends is that people internalize these messages so deeply, and they do diagnose themselves," Spiesman says. "They'll see something on TikTok and be like, 'Oh, I have this issue, or my partner has that.'" She now spends time in sessions asking clients to take a step back and reflect on why a specific post resonated with them so much.

5. They tout one modality as superior to all others



Therapists are typically trained in a number of different modalities, such as cognitive behavioral therapy, eye movement desensitization and reprocessing (EMDR), gestalt therapy, and art therapy. They might specialize in and even prefer one, but they shouldn't be touting it online as the end-all, be-all, Games says. "Not one single therapeutic modality works for everyone," she stresses. "It's not one-size-fits-all."

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME





Desert desertion

Tens of thousands of Burning Man attendees begin their exodus from the Nevada desert on Sept. 4, after days of relentless downpours stranded campers in impassable mud with limited water, food, and fuel. After a summer of extreme weather, experts noted that the flooding at the Black Rock City festival site may be a harbinger of how climate change will continue to affect major outdoor events.

Photograph by Matt Mills McKnight—Reuters
▸ For more of our best photography, visit time.com/lightbox



when I Grow up, I want to Be a DOctor!

Last year, Ben was too sick to dream.
He has Primary Immunodeficiency or PI.
Thanks to the Jeffrey Modell Foundation,
he has been properly diagnosed and treated.

Now he can search for the cure.

jm Jeffrey Modell Foundation

helping children reach for their dreams

info4pi.org

Because of the
Jeffrey Modell Foundation
I have a Chance! ♡



EGYPT
The Modern Face of an Ancient Land

Since long before the time of the pharaohs, Egypt's location at the crossroads of the Mediterranean, the Middle East and Africa made the country a natural commercial hub for some of the world's busiest and most lucrative trading routes. Now, thanks to growing domestic stability, an improvement in long-term economic prospects and the recent détente across the Middle East, Egypt is poised to re-establish its position as a major global player.

Egypt's re-emergence has as much to do with demographic forces as geopolitical ones. Not only is the country's population growing at an annual rate of 1.94%, adding approximately two million new citizens to its number each year, but around 60% of all Egyptians are under the age of 30. This is both a challenge and an opportunity. As in many neighboring Middle East states, the challenge is for the country's public and private sectors to find the means of feeding such a rapidly growing population, but also to meet their career and living requirements as well.

Which is where the opportunities come in. "There is very strong demand for residential property right now," says Pioneers Properties CEO Waleed Mohammed Zaki. "The private sector alone has orders for 900,000 units on its books a year."

With government backing, even more ambitious and longer-term initiatives are underway to address the housing issue while simultaneously meeting the need to generate employment opportunities. Driven by a surge in public-private partnerships and several eco-friendly, high-end infrastructure initiatives, at least $50 billion has been committed to a wide array of mega projects destined to transform Egypt's social and industrial landscape over the coming decades.

These range from a network of concentrated solar power (CSP) and nuclear power plants to several brand-new conurbations designed to accommodate the country's expanding workforce. One of these is the Egyptian capital's New Cairo, a satellite city of 270 square-miles that is fast becoming a blueprint for similar developments across the continent. "We have become something of a role model," says Khaled Abbas, chairman of New Cairo's owners and developers, the Administrative Capital for Urban Development (ACUD). "What we're doing is cutting edge and there is a great deal of international interest to see if others can follow our example."

Thanks to its pivotal location and the significant growth in the strength and depth of its skilled labor pool, Egypt is steadily securing its position as a manufacturing hub for multinationals looking for a springboard into the wider EMEA region. "Egypt offers investors high rates, and I'm not just talking about the stock market, I'm talking about manufacturing and other operational companies," says B Investments chairman and co-founder Hazem Barakat.

That flow of foreign investment into the country is likely to increase after the government's recent moves to privatize more than 30 state-owned companies, which is anticipated to attract upwards of $10 billion. The initiative is already bearing fruit. The Egyptian finance ministry announced in May that it was selling a 9.5% stake in the state-controlled Telecom Egypt, and a month later signed a $460 million financing agreement for Cairo's metro lines with South Korea's Economic Development Co-operation Fund. "Egypt is a big country, with a growing economy," says Banque du Caire (BdC) chairman Tarek Fayed, whose bank, is spearheading Egypt's digitalization and fintech drive. "There is a huge amount of potential here."

The Nile and the fertility that the river brought to the soil along its banks and hinterlands have famously been a main source of Egypt's power and prosperity for thousands of years. Now the country is turning to two other natural resources it has in abundance to secure its future, namely, the 3,300 to 4,000 hours of sunshine it enjoys each year and the vast expanses of desert it possesses in which to generate solar power. This is part of the 2016 Egypt Vision 2030 Sustainable Development Strategy that commits the country to reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 10% by 2030. The government has subsequently set itself a goal of producing 42% of its power generation from renewables by the end of the decade.

With the backing of the International Finance Corporation, the government is also believed to be close to signing final agreements to build two wind and solar projects with a combined energy capacity of one gigawatt. The private sector is playing its part too. "This is still an infant market," says Muhammed El Demerdash, managing director of Engazaat, a developer of wind and solar energy projects. "We are just scratching the surface."

The next chapter of Egypt's epic story looks set to be an exhilarating one.

ACUD – New Administrative Capital, Egypt's Smart City of Tomorrow

About 30 miles east of downtown Cairo and situated between the Egyptian capital's middle ring road and the Cairo-Suez and Cairo-El Ain El Sokhna highways, a brand-new city is rising from the sands of the eastern desert. Welcome to New Administrative Capital, a satellite city designed to ease Cairo's traffic congestion and overcrowding and strengthen and diversify the country's economic potential by creating new places to live, work, and visit. On completion, New Administrative Capital will have created about two million direct and indirect new jobs for some of its 8 million inhabitants who with their families will enjoy a quality of life that would have been beyond their grandparents' and even their parents' wildest dreams.

After six years, phase one of four is complete, with much credit due to Khaled Abbas, chairman and managing director of the Administrative Capital for Urban Development (ACUD) and the man tasked with driving this project forward. Formerly Egypt's deputy minister of Housing, Utilities, and Urban Communities, Abbas brings invaluable experience to what is one of the New Administrative Capital's biggest challenges, namely, creating the working and living environments that will guarantee an exceptional quality of life for residents and visitors from across the social and economic spectrum.

"What makes ACUD different from other property developers is that we aren't in this to make a quick profit," says Abbas. "New Administrative Capital must be able to offer appropriate housing conditions for its low-income residents as well as the better off. We have a responsibility to create a mixed and dynamic social fabric."

It is a goal that many such urban mega projects before New Administrative Capital have struggled to achieve, with previous efforts


Khaled Abbas - Chairman of ACUD

often resulting in somewhat sterile and artificial environments. That won't be the case with New Administrative Capital, principally because it ticks the three boxes beloved of all successful property developers – location, location, location.

"OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE CHOSEN TO BUILD THEIR NEW ADMINISTRATIVE CENTERS A LONG WAY FROM THEIR HISTORIC CAPITALS, AND MANY PEOPLE ARE RELUCTANT TO UPROOT THEIR FAMILIES AND MOVE SO FAR AWAY, AND THIS HAS HINDERED THEIR SUCCESS," ABBAS SAYS.

"We don't have that problem, because New Administrative Capital is so close to the old town." And in close proximity, of course, to the Red Sea and the Nile, whose waterways give Cairo access to international trade routes.

As construction proceeds on a new international airport and a central business district whose 400-meter-high Iconic Tower is the tallest building in Africa, New Administrative Capital is emerging as a blueprint for the smart city movement. Its residents will be able to use smart cards and apps to unlock doors, make payments and surf the web on public Wi-Fi beamed from lamp posts. Meanwhile a network of at least 6,000 cameras will monitor activity on every street, tracking pedestrians and vehicles to regulate traffic and report suspicious activity. "We are trying to change people's mindset with regard to their own security," says Abbas. "Residents should not have to think twice about going for a bike ride or a walk downtown."

It is also shaping up to be one of the most environmentally friendly conurbations on earth, with its parks and other communal spaces providing 15 square meters of green landscape per capita, compared with just 50 square centimeters in Cairo itself. The new city's water system uses recycled water, generates 30% of its power and electricity from solar power, and has set itself a target of recycling 75% of its waste.

New Administrative Capital is also a city for the future in one other very important way, and that is its focus on education. Twenty-five schools have already been built and 12 more are under construction, and New Administrative Capital's five universities will ultimately be able to accommodate 20,000 students.

Little wonder that the New Administrative Capital has earned respect and admiration from governments across the Middle East and beyond, and Abbas is weighing new opportunities. "Several African countries see us as a role model and would like us to share our experiences with them," he says. "That could be an interesting path for us to pursue. The harmony between international cooperation and expertise creates great investment opportunities that are both intuitively appealing and constantly on the rise."



BANQUE DU CAIRE – Sustainable Success

It is now seven years since the launch of Egypt Vision 2030, the far-reaching government initiative to encourage sustainable growth in virtually every aspect of Egyptian society and its economy. And it is just five years since Banque du Caire (BdC) appointed a new board under the chairmanship of Tarek Fayed.


Tarek Fayed
Chairman of Banque du Caire

The two events are inextricably linked, as BdC has emerged as one of Egypt Vision 2030's most effective advocates. In recent years the bank has gone from being one of Egypt's oldest and largest "bricks-and-mortar" banking institutions into also being a fully digitized fintech operator whose performance goes from strength to strength. BdC announced in May that its year-on-year Q1 profits had grown by 29%, from $26 million to $33.5 million.

Fayed, who joined BdC from Egypt's central bank, attributes this remarkable success to his and the board's decision to invest heavily in both people and technology. "We realized that if we wanted to take quantum leaps in the quality of our operation, we needed to upgrade our human capital," he says. "So capacity building and training have been high priorities for us over the last five years." In keeping with these aims, BdC has introduced a portfolio of performance appraisals and incentives. Its sustainability department is dedicated to ESG standards and the lowering of CO_2 emissions -- and a focus on sustainability has become part of the bank's core mission.

Fayed and his team were also quick to recognize that the bank was facing fierce competition from the booming fintech sector, as well as from its traditional banking rivals. It reacted accordingly by setting up an in-house "digital factory" to affect the transition from the conventional banking model to a more innovative, fintech-driven modus operandi.

BdC's latest digital initiative is the Taly e-payments platform that follows Egypt Vision 2030's drive towards financial inclusion. "It is very important to us to address the issue of loans to the marginalized, particularly in Upper Egypt," says Fayed. "We already have more than 210,000 microfinance clients."

Through its commitment sustainable policies, BdC is showing what a modern bank should look like.

بنك القاهرة
Banque du Caire

B INVESTMENTS – Emerging Opportunity Experts

Egypt is on a long-term mission to attract an ever-growing volume of foreign investment into projects that range from solar-powered desalination plants and the digitalization of its education system to the electrification of its transport infrastructure. In the process it is enjoying the continent's second-largest foreign direct investment (FDI) inflows, a success story due in part to the professionalism and financial acumen of private equity firms like B Investments.

Established in 2006, B Investments is held in high regard for its ability to create value for investors and portfolio companies that operate across an array of sectors, including healthcare, real estate, non-banking financial services, renewable energy, manufacturing and the food and beverage industries.


Hazem Barakat
Chairman of B Investments

"One of our great strengths is that we have been able to adapt very, very quickly to changing circumstances," says B Investments chairman and co-founder Hazem Barakat. "This is particularly useful when you are operating in a developing country which has experienced its ups and downs."

Another of B Investment's core strengths is the quality of its staff, who have successfully leveraged over 300 years of combined financial and operational experience to identify some of the country's most promising investments and to maximize shareholder value. Listed on the Egyptian Exchange since 2018, B Investments plays an increasingly important role in the development of Egypt as a whole.

In May, for instance, B Investments entered into a partnership to provide the country's pharmaceutical sector with a dependable one-stop shop for all its logistics, administrative, distribution and trade requirements. It is also committed to sustainable growth and has been instrumental in securing funding for several of Egypt's growing arsenal of solar power installations.

Barakat is now looking to roll out the business model across Africa and the Middle East, while remaining supremely confident about his company's domestic growth prospects. "Egypt is a big country with a growing economy," he says, "and with the government's imminent focus on encouraging FDI, there is a good chance it will become an international manufacturing hub." With B investments on hand to lend support every step of the way.

B
INVESTMENTS

The View

WORLD

THE DECAY OF IRAN

BY KARIM SADJADPOUR

The Islamic Republic of Iran has thus far proved too ideologically rigid to reform and too ruthless to collapse. As in the late stages of the Soviet Union, however, the foundations decay in plain sight. Outside their homeland, women of Iranian origin become world-class mathematicians and astronauts; inside Iran, the ruling clerics debate whether women should be allowed to ride bicycles. ▸

INSIDE

THE LESSON IN LATIN AMERICAN ELECTIONS

WHY HIS GOP RIVALS WORRY ABOUT VIVEK RAMASWAMY

SIMON SEBAG MONTEFIORE ON PUTIN AND PRIGOZHIN



Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei addresses Revolutionary Guards on Aug. 17

One year ago this month, the regime's "morality police" detained and beat a 22-year-old woman—Mahsa Jina Amini—for allegedly showing too much hair beneath her compulsory veil. Her death in custody triggered Iran's longest antigovernment protests since the 1979 revolution that transformed the country from a U.S.-allied monarchy to an anti-American Islamist theocracy.

Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei managed these protests as he always does, by crushing dissent, dividing adversaries, and refusing to offer any concessions. Over 20,000 people were arrested and over 500 killed, including several who were executed. Compromising under pressure, Khamenei believes, only projects weakness and emboldens dissent.

For the U.S., Iran's internal political dynamics have a direct bearing on national security. Viewed from Washington, Tehran is the world's leading state sponsor of terrorism, is actively trying to assassinate former U.S. officials (to avenge the 2019 killing of Iranian general Qasem Soleimani), provides Vladimir Putin lethal drones in his war against Ukraine, and has taken more U.S. citizens hostage than any other country in the world. At least five—who have collectively spent two decades as hostages in Tehran's Evin prison—could soon be returned to the U.S., in return for the U.S. unfreezing at least $6 billion in Iranian assets frozen in South Korea. There should be no illusions this deal will lead to a thaw in U.S.-Iran relations: senior Iranian officials—who publicly advocate hostage trading as an economic policy—have already announced the practice will continue.

A BIGGER CHALLENGE for the Biden Administration heading into election season is an advancing Iran nuclear program that could potentially trigger Israeli military action and skyrocketing oil prices. Five years after the Trump Administration withdrew from the 2015 Iran nuclear agreement signed by the Obama Administration, the CIA assesses that Tehran has the technical capacity to build nuclear weapons and is within weeks of having the fissile material to do so.

Going for a bomb, however, would be a risky move for Khamenei. Iran's nuclear sites have been thoroughly penetrated by Israel and the U.S., as evidenced by routine acts of sabotage reported at Iranian nuclear facilities and the assassination of top nuclear scientists. Khamenei's making the decision to weaponize also risks tilting the balance of power toward the Revolutionary Guards, who would likely control the nuclear codes (and aspire to control the country).

Successive U.S. administrations have sought to defuse Iran's nuclear program, and end the U.S.-Iran cold war, by either trying to engage the Iranian regime diplomatically or subjecting it to economic pressure in the hopes the regime will either capitulate or implode. None of these efforts has borne fruit. "Death to America" remains the Islamic Republic's enduring slogan.

But another pillar of the revolution is compulsory hijab. And a year after Amini's death, thousands of Iranian women defy these rules daily, despite the regime's use of Chinese facial-recognition technology to punish violations of laws of "hijab and chastity."

The country's economy is a shambles, and its former Minister of the Environment ominously warned that continued mismanagement of water resources could mean 50 million Iranians—70% of the country—"will have no choice but to leave the country." Climate scientists say parts of Iran (which this year reached temperatures of 152°F) could be the first places on earth too hot to be inhabited by humans.

After two decades of failure in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the disappointing outcomes of the 2011 Arab uprisings, the U.S. has little confidence that it can positively impact political outcomes in the Middle East. Indeed, absent a cohesive liberal opposition, an implosion of the Islamic Republic is less likely to be followed by an Iranian version of Jeffersonian democracy than by a military government.

For now, it remains a security state commanded by an octogenarian cleric who has held the title of Supreme Leader since 1989, before most Iranians were born. "Everyone is just waiting," a recent visitor from Tehran told me, "for the leader to die."

Sadjadpour is a senior fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

The View includes reporting by Leslie Dickstein

IRAN SUPREME LEADER OFFICE HANDOUT/EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

THE RISK REPORT BY IAN BREMMER

Outsiders are shaking up Latin America's politics



GUATEMALA AND Ecuador held elections on Aug. 20; two small countries, but revealing some key trends in Latin American politics.

In Guatemala, the progressive anticorruption candidate Bernardo Arévalo won the presidential runoff in a landslide against the conservative former First Lady, Sandra Torres. In Ecuador, the right-wing populist businessman Daniel Noboa edged his way into an October runoff against former President Rafael Correa's chosen candidate, Luisa González, whom he is favored to defeat.

For starters, both Arévalo and Noboa are outsiders who were polling in the low single digits just weeks before overcoming establishment candidates in their respective first-round elections. This evinces strong voter frustration with the status quo in both countries.

Guatemala accelerated its slide toward authoritarianism when electoral authorities controlled by the ruling pact arbitrarily barred multiple change candidates from participating in the race, in an effort to protect the corrupt establishment's grip on power. That left voters with familiar faces such as three-time candidate Torres and two-time candidate Zury Ríos, the daughter of former dictator Efraín Ríos Montt. But Guatemalans rejected the government's efforts to shape the field by opting for Arévalo, the one remaining candidate with a strong antigraft message.

Similarly, Ecuador's Noboa was able to benefit from voters' desire to break out of a polarized political climate defined by differing stances toward Correa. The former President, a left-wing strongman in the mold of Venezuela's Hugo Chávez, has loomed large over the political arena since leaving office in 2017 after 10 years in power. But nearly 46% of Ecuadoreans now believe the country should be run by someone who is neither *correista* nor anti-*correista*, according to a recent survey from local pollster Comunicaliza. The shocking Aug. 9 assassination of anti-*correista* candidate Fernando Villavicencio led some voters to abandon González and look for a populist alternative. Noboa emerged as a contender because he is a political newcomer—albeit a well-known one as the son of Álvaro Noboa, a five-time presidential candidate and one of Ecuador's wealthiest men—who avoided attacking his opponents during the campaign.



Supporters celebrate Bernardo Arévalo's win in the presidential runoff in Guatemala City on Aug. 20

Both candidates also benefited from the youth vote. In Guatemala, where 70% of the population is under the age of 35 and the average age is 26, Arévalo was able to capture significant youth support, particularly in the capital city and other urban centers where his transparency message resonated. Arévalo was also much more moderate on key social issues, offering a stark contrast to Torres' anti-gay and antiabortion platform and bolstering his appeal to younger voters. Meanwhile, in Ecuador, more than half of the electorate is under 40 and a quarter is under 30. At just 35 years old, Noboa was the youngest candidate in the field and would be the country's youngest-ever President if he wins in October.

THE GROWING WEIGHT of the youth vote and simmering voter frustration with incumbents suggest that outsiders will prevail in other upcoming elections in the region like Argentina's, where libertarian anti-establishment upstart Javier Milei is in the pole position to win the presidency later this year. Yet once in office, outsiders will face a steep uphill climb to actually govern. In Guatemala, the corrupt ruling pact—which controls all state institutions—is aggressively seeking to undermine Arévalo. Meanwhile, if Noboa wins, his National Democratic Action party will hold just 12 of the national assembly's 137 seats, and a challenging economic backdrop will leave him with limited resources to fulfill his promises to voters. The only certainty in Latin American politics is more uncertainty to come. ◻

JOHAN ORDONEZ—AFP/GETTY IMAGES



The D.C. Brief
By Philip Elliott
WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT

To hear his rivals tell it, he's a charlatan unfit for the job. But if you listen closely enough, you also hear fear about the prospects of Vivek Ramaswamy, a 38-year-old tech bro who was the surprising bull's-eye of Aug. 23's first Republican presidential debate.

Maybe it was Ramaswamy's consistent and confounding defense of All Things Trump. Maybe it was his smooth talk and culture-war acumen. Maybe it was just the fact that **Ramaswamy frankly does not care how things were done before and just might have enough self-made money to go the distance.**

Former New Jersey governor Chris Christie snarled that he'd "had enough already tonight of a guy who sounds like ChatGPT." Sniped former South Carolina governor Nikki Haley: "You have no foreign policy experience, and it shows." And former Vice President Mike Pence mocked the rookie as someone in need of on-the-job training.

Still, with ex-President Donald Trump skipping the debate and Ramaswamy doubling as his stand-in, his rivals needed to pile on. The GOP race is still Trump's to lose. He's polling at least 30 points ahead of his closest rival, Florida Governor Ron DeSantis. But DeSantis has slogged through one of the worst stretches any White House hopeful has seen in recent memory, and Ramaswamy is betting he can slide into that lane without too heavy a lift. And his assessment isn't entirely delusional.

The fact that Ramaswamy merited any oppo prep says a lot about the field. In normal times, he would not be a factor, an interloper with zero experience who should not matter. But the reboot of politics in the past 20 years makes this possible. And Ramaswamy beams.



Ramaswamy, flanked by DeSantis and Haley, at the debate

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Health Matters
By Alice Park
SENIOR HEALTH CORRESPONDENT

EVERY FALL AND WINTER, AS temperatures drop, it's a battle between man and microbe, as viruses take advantage of our nesting instincts to spread sore throats, runny and stuffy noses, fevers, and coughs that won't stop. This respiratory-disease season, however, **we're armed for the first time with tools against respiratory syncytial virus (RSV), which causes disease primarily in older people and infants.** That means more shots for these groups, but also hopefully fewer infections, visits to the hospital, and even deaths from RSV.

Here's advice from some experts on how to navigate the new choices, and who should be getting which vaccines against the major respiratory diseases we'll face in coming months.

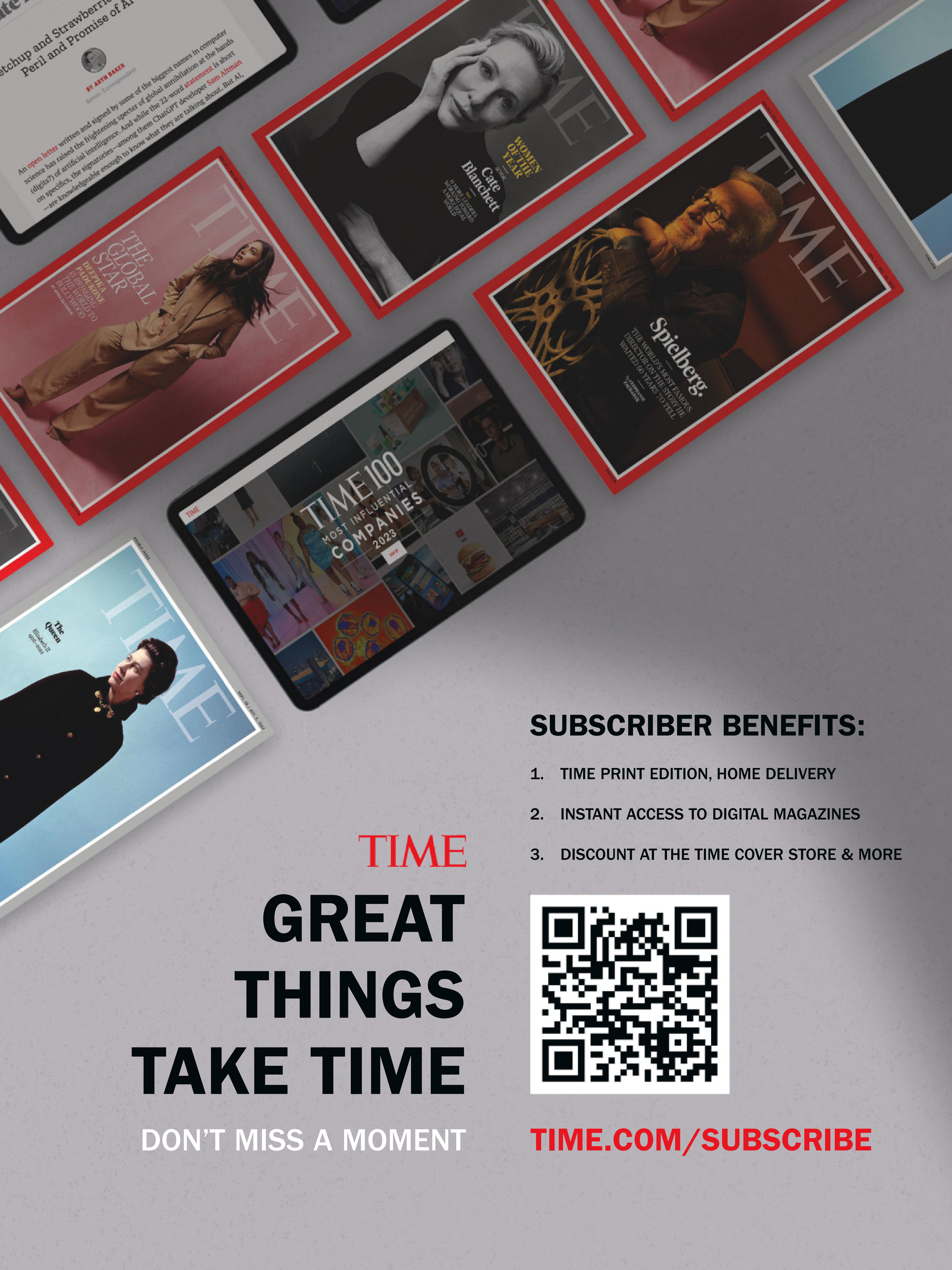
Flu: Everyone 6 months or older should be getting a flu shot to protect against influenza, says the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC).

COVID-19: There will be an updated vaccine, which health officials are likely to recommend for most people around mid-September. The vaccine will target the XBB.1.5 variant, which was circulating earlier this summer when the U.S. Food and Drug Administration's expert committee of vaccine experts met to advise manufacturers about updating their shots. While XBB.1.5 is no longer the dominant variant causing disease in the country, vaccine-makers say they have conducted studies to show that their XBB.1.5 shots continue to protect against some of the latest variants causing infections.

RSV: There are two new vaccines, for people over age 60 and those who are pregnant, and an antibody shot for babies under 8 months old, to protect against RSV. CDC officials have already said that people over 60 "may" get the vaccine, and that babies under 8 months old who are born during months when RSV spreads, from October to April, should get the antibody injection. Older infants up to 19 months could also get the shot if they are at higher risk of infection. But health authorities are still discussing whether all pregnant people should be vaccinated, which would protect newborns from the moment they are born.

For more health news straight to your inbox, sign up for TIME's health newsletter at **time.com/health-matters**

KENNY HOLSTON—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX



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WORLD

What Prigozhin's end says about Russia

BY SIMON SEBAG MONTEFIORE



STRINGER/ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY IMAGES

A portrait of Yevgeny Prigozhin, at his grave site in St. Petersburg on Aug. 30

WHEN A JET CARRYING YEVGENY PRIGOZHIN—the billionaire oligarch, catering tycoon, mercenary chieftain, and recent mutineer—crashed in August, the only surprise was that the interval between his June mutiny and his death was so long. But the predictability of baroque violence in Russian court politics does not make it less shocking when it actually happens.

We know very little about what goes on within the tiny inner circle of Russian President Vladimir Putin. A Kremlin spokesperson has admitted the crash could have been the result of "deliberate wrongdoing," and it is clear that so far even supposed "security experts" are just reading the same Telegram accounts as the rest of us. But the rise and fall of Prigozhin reveals many threads that run throughout Russian history and remain relevant now. It also chronicles the depletion of autocratic prestige, state power, and competent management—and thus raises the threat of the disintegration of Russia itself.

First, all of this is a symptom of one-man rule, the habitual system in Russia throughout its long history. Prigozhin was the latest in a long line of court favorites whose ascendancies are the inevitable result of personal power. Some imperial favorites were amazingly talented (Catherine the Great's co-ruler Prince Potemkin was the greatest statesman of the Romanov dynasty) and some not (Nicholas II's Rasputin was the most talentless). When these favorites lose the protection of their patrons, their falls are vertiginous.

Prigozhin, one of Putin's St. Peterburg circle, received massive financial prizes: catering and later military contracts worth billions. He was one of the more competent managers whom Putin trusted; by helping to create the Wagner mercenary group, he allowed Russia to run an aggressive but deniable foreign policy. When Putin launched his wars against Ukraine and the military turned out to be ill-led and ill-supplied, Prigozhin's storm troopers distinguished themselves with their resilience and atrocities.

But sometime in the meat grinder of Bakhmut, the desperate fray turned his head: Prigozhin started to identify himself and his Wagner troops as blood-spattered heroes of Russia's war against Ukraine, and anyone who held them back as traitors—maybe even the President himself.

It is a sign of Russia's weakening state that Putin allowed nonstate players to command their own armies in the first place. And it turned out he could not prevent the Kremlin exploding into open rebellion on June 23 when Prigozhin led his forces to advance on Moscow.

Prigozhin was the latest in a long line of court favorites

RUSSIAN RULERS ARE ACCUSTOMED to facing rebellions and crushing them, but they have generally done so with more élan—and more vivid violence. Peter the Great rushed back from his Great Embassy to Europe to torture thousands of rebel musketeers in specially constructed torture chambers. Catherine the Great unleashed her generals to crush the Pugachev rebellion; they sailed floating gallows down the Volga. Nicholas I, facing the mutiny of elite regiments in the streets of Petersburg, bombarded them with artillery. We may never know the real deal brokered by Belarusian dictator Alexander Lukashenko to stop Prigozhin's advance, but Putin, ashen and lacking his trademark swagger, was forced to go on TV to denounce the treason.

Every autocrat identifies totally with the state: Putin does not need to choose between national and personal betrayal. But treason is even more bitter if the traitor is a friend and protégé. Peter the Great's own son plotted against him and then defected, escaping to Vienna in 1716. Peter lured him back promising security—and then tortured him to death. Peter is Putin's hero. Photographs of the President's sumptuous yacht have revealed that he displays there a statuette of the first emperor of Russia. No matter how close the traitor, the traitor has to die.

The rebellion of June 23 crossed every line.

It was a humiliation for the President—not just a personal betrayal, but also a political one, exposing to the world the incompetence and corruption of Putin's conduct of the war. Putin spoke of Prigozhin with almost paternal sadness, like a son he had had to sacrifice: "I have known Prigozhin from the beginning of the 1990s," he said, with a strange wistfulness. "He was a man with a complex fate."

It is said that the FSB security service urged Putin to let it liquidate Prigozhin at once; Putin was more cautious. There were loose ends to tie up. But also there was something else: he was teasing the loudmouthed Prigozhin, letting him feel safe and preen on his online channels, even flaunt that he was still alive, still in business. Stalin did the same with his enemies, like Nikolai Bukharin.

In Russia, the mystique of power—from Peter the Great to Stalin's NKVD commissar Lavrenti Beria and on to Putin—is often won by the capricious deployment of violence. Now, Putin's mastery has to some extent been restored. Prigozhin's death was not just a bullet in the head but a spectacular crash. Yet turbulence in the inner circle, the rise of warlords, the open feuding, the rebellion—all of this presages the deterioration of the Russian state.

Here the President and officials of a huge empire and powerful nuclear-armed intergalactic modern state conspired to liquidate one of their own intimates, behaving like narco-trafficantes or the cutthroats of a small town in Renaissance Italy. Yet so far Russia's grandees and people are rallying to the Motherland and its ruler; its huge army is holding. Putin is damaged, yet a weakened tyrant can rule for a long time. And war grinds on …

Montefiore is the author of The World: A Family History of Humanity *and* Stalin: Court of the Red Tsar





She Just Had a Baby. Soon, She'll Start Seventh Grade

IN POST-*DOBBS* AMERICA, SOME GIRLS CAN GO OUT OF STATE TO GET AN ABORTION. THIS IS THE STORY OF ONE WHO COULDN'T BY CHARLOTTE ALTER/CLARKSDALE, MISS.



Ashley in Clarksdale, Miss., on Aug. 1

PHOTOGRAPHS BY LUCY GARRETT FOR TIME

ASHLEY JUST HAD A BABY. SHE'S SITTING ON THE couch in a relative's apartment in Clarksdale, Miss., wearing camo-print leggings and fiddling with the plastic hospital bracelets still on her wrists. It's August and pushing 90°F, which means the brown patterned curtains are drawn, the air conditioner is on high, and the room feels like a hiding place. Peanut, the baby boy she delivered two days earlier, is asleep in a car seat at her feet, dressed in a little blue outfit. Ashley is surrounded by family, but nobody is smiling. One relative silently eats lunch in the kitchen, her two siblings stare glumly at their phones, and her mother Regina watches from across the room. Ashley was discharged from the hospital only hours ago, but there are no baby presents or toys in the room, no visible diapers or ointments or bottles. Almost nobody knows that Peanut exists, because almost nobody knew that Ashley was pregnant. She is 13 years old. Soon she'll start seventh grade.

In the fall of 2022, Ashley was raped by a stranger in the yard outside her home, her mother says. For weeks, she didn't tell anybody what had happened, not even her mom. But Regina knew something was wrong. Ashley used to love going outside to make dances for her TikTok, but suddenly she refused to leave her bedroom. When she turned 13 that November, she wasn't in the mood to celebrate. "She just said, 'It hurts,'" Regina remembers. "She was crying in her room. I asked her what was wrong, and she said she didn't want to tell me." (To protect the privacy of a juvenile rape survivor, TIME is using pseudonyms to refer to Ashley and Regina; Peanut is the baby's nickname.)

The signs were obvious only in retrospect. Ashley started feeling sick to her stomach; Regina thought it was related to her diet. At one point, Regina even asked Ashley if she was pregnant, and Ashley said nothing. Regina hadn't yet explained to her daughter how a baby is made, because she didn't think Ashley was old enough to understand. "They need to be kids," Regina says. She doesn't think Ashley even realized that what happened to her could lead to a pregnancy.

On Jan. 11, Ashley began throwing up so much that Regina took her to the emergency room at Northwest Regional Medical Center. When her blood work came back, the hospital called the police. One nurse came in and asked Ashley, "What have you been doing?" Regina recalls. That's when they found out Ashley was pregnant. "I broke down," Regina says.

Dr. Erica Balthrop was the ob-gyn on call that day. Balthrop is an assured, muscular woman with close-cropped cornrows and a tattoo of a feather running down her arm. She ordered an ultrasound, and determined Ashley was 10 or 11 weeks along. "It was surreal for her," Balthrop recalls. "She just had no clue." The doctor could not get Ashley to answer any questions, or to speak at all. "She would not open her mouth." (Balthrop spoke about her patient's medical history with Regina's permission.)

At their second visit, about a week later, Regina tentatively asked Balthrop if there was any way to terminate Ashley's pregnancy. Seven months earlier, Balthrop could have directed Ashley to abortion clinics in Memphis, 90 minutes north, or in Jackson, Miss., 2½ hours south. But today, Ashley lives in the heart of abortion-ban America. In 2018, Republican lawmakers in Mississippi enacted a ban on most abortions after 15 weeks of pregnancy. The law was blocked by a federal judge, who ruled that it violated the abortion protections guaranteed by *Roe v. Wade.* The Supreme Court disagreed. In its June 2022 decision in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization,* the court overturned the constitutional right to abortion that had existed for nearly half a century. Within weeks, Mississippi and every state that borders it banned abortion in almost all circumstances.

Ashley did what girls with no other options do: she did nothing

Balthrop told Regina that the closest abortion provider for Ashley would be in Chicago. At first, Regina thought she and Ashley could drive there. But it's a nine-hour trip, and Regina would have to take off work. She'd have to pay for gas, food, and a place to stay, not to mention the cost of the abortion itself. "I don't have the funds for all this," she says.

So Ashley did what girls with no other options do: she did nothing.

CLARKSDALE IS IN the Mississippi Delta, a vast stretch of flat, fertile land in the northwest corner of the state, between the Mississippi and Yazoo rivers. The people who live in the Delta are predominantly Black and low-income. The region is an epicenter of America's ongoing Black maternal-health crisis. Mississippi has the second highest



Dr. Erica Balthrop at the Clarksdale Woman's Clinic on Aug. 2

maternal-mortality rate in the country, with 43 deaths per 100,000 live births, and the Delta has among the worst maternal health care outcomes in the state. Black women in Mississippi are four times as likely to die from pregnancy-related complications as white women.

Mississippi's abortion ban is expected to result in thousands of additional births, often to low-income, high-risk mothers. Dr. Daniel Edney, Mississippi's top health official, tells TIME his department is "actively preparing" for roughly 4,000 additional live births this year alone. Edney says improving maternal-health outcomes is the "No. 1 priority" for the Mississippi health department, which has invested $2 million in its Healthy Moms, Healthy Babies program to provide extra support for new mothers. "There is a sense of following through, and not just as a predominantly pro-life state," says Edney. "We don't just care about life in utero. We care about life, period, and that includes the mother's life and the baby's life."

Mississippi's abortion ban contains narrow exceptions, including for rape victims and to save the life of the mother. But Ashley's case shows that these exceptions are largely theoretical. Even if a victim files a police report, there appears to be no clear process for granting an exception. (The state attorney general's office did not return TIME's repeated requests to clarify the process for granting exceptions; the Mississippi Board of Medical Licensure and the Mississippi State Medical Association did not reply to TIME's requests for explanation.) And, of course, there are no abortion providers left in the state. In January, the New York *Times* reported that since Mississippi's abortion law went into effect, only two exceptions had been made. Even if the process for obtaining one were clear, it wouldn't have helped Ashley. Regina didn't know that Mississippi's abortion ban had an exception for rape.

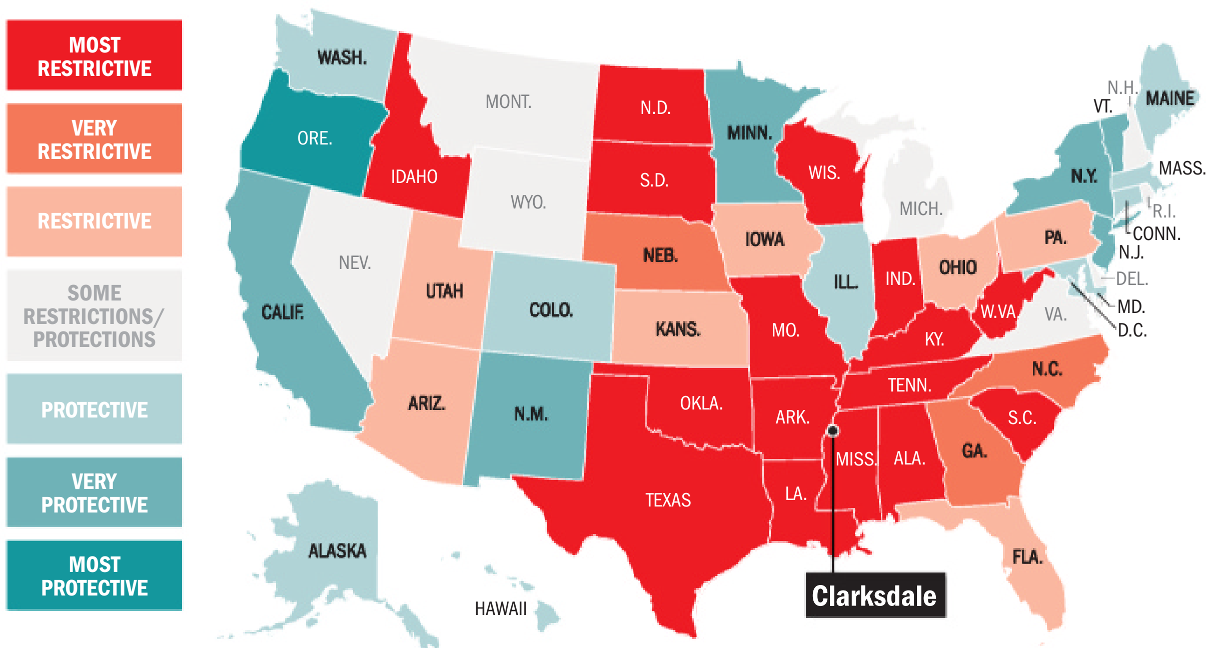
Even before *Dobbs,* it was perilous to become a mother in rural Mississippi. More than half the counties in the state can be classified as maternity-care deserts, according to a 2023 report from the March of Dimes, meaning there are no birthing facilities or obstetric providers. More than 24% of women in Mississippi have no birthing hospital within a 30-minute drive, compared with the national average of roughly 10%. According to Edney, there are just nine ob-gyns serving a region larger than the state of Delaware. Every time an ob-gyn retires, Balthrop gets an influx of new patients. "These patients are having to drive further to get the same care, then they're having to wait longer," Balthrop says.

Those backups can have cascading effects. Balthrop recalls one woman who had to wait four weeks to get an appointment. "That's unacceptable, because you don't know if she's high risk or not until she sees you," the doctor says. The patient "didn't know she was pregnant. Now the time has lapsed so much that she can't drive anyplace to terminate even if she chose to."

Early data suggests the *Dobbs* decision will make this problem worse.

Abortion access after *Dobbs*

Since the Supreme Court decision, at least 20 states have added new restrictions or banned abortion outright, making it extremely difficult for many women and girls—particularly in the Deep South where Ashley lives—to access abortion care



EXPERTS AT THE GUTTMACHER INSTITUTE ASSIGNED STATES ONE OF SEVEN CATEGORIES BASED ON CURRENT ABORTION POLICIES AND THEIR CUMULATIVE IMPACT ON ABORTION RIGHTS AND ACCESS: **EXTREMELY RESTRICTIVE:** BANS ABORTION COMPLETELY. **VERY RESTRICTIVE:** MULTIPLE RESTRICTIONS AND EARLY-GESTATIONAL-AGE BAN. **RESTRICTIVE:** MULTIPLE RESTRICTIONS AND LATER-GESTATIONAL-AGE BAN. **SOME RESTRICTIONS/PROTECTIONS:** A FEW RESTRICTIONS OR PROTECTIONS, OR A COMBINATION OF RESTRICTIVE AND PROTECTIVE POLICIES. **PROTECTIVE:** SOME PROTECTIVE POLICIES (E.G., INSURANCE COVERAGE FOR ABORTION AND PROTECTIONS FOR PATIENTS AND CLINIC STAFF). **VERY PROTECTIVE:** MOST OF THE PROTECTIVE POLICIES. **MOST PROTECTIVE:** ALL OR ALMOST ALL OF THE PROTECTIVE POLICIES.

Younger doctors and medical students don't want to move to states with abortion restrictions. When Emory University researcher Ariana Traub surveyed almost 500 third- and fourth-year medical students in 2022, close to 80% said that abortion laws influenced where they planned to apply to residency. Nearly 60% said they were unlikely to apply to any residency programs in states with abortion restrictions. Traub had assumed that abortion would be most important to students studying obstetrics, but was surprised to find that three-quarters of students across all medical specialties said that *Dobbs* was affecting their residency decisions.

"People often forget that doctors are people and patients too," Traub says. "And residency is often the time when people are in their mid-30s and thinking of starting a family." Traub found that medical students weren't just reluctant to practice in states with abortion bans. They didn't want to become pregnant there, either.

And so *Dobbs* has compounded America's maternal-health crisis: more women are giving birth to more babies, in areas where there are already not enough doctors, while abortion bans are making it more difficult to recruit qualified providers to the regions that need them most. "People always ask me, 'Why do you choose to stay there?'" says Balthrop, who has worked in the Delta for more than 20 years. "I feel like I have no choice at this point."

THE WEEKS WENT ON, and Ashley entered her second trimester. She wore bigger clothes to hide her bump, until she was so big that Regina took her out of school. They told everyone Ashley needed surgery for a bad ulcer. "We've been keeping it quiet, because people judge wrong when they don't know what's going on," Regina says. She's been trying to keep Ashley away from "nosy people." For months, Ashley spent most of the day alone, finishing up sixth grade on her laptop. The family still has no plans to tell anybody about the pregnancy. "It's going to be a little private matter here," Regina says.

Ashley has ADHD and trouble focusing, and has an Individualized Education Program at school. She had never talked much, but after the rape she went from shy to almost mute. Regina thinks she may have been too traumatized to speak. At first, Regina couldn't even get Ashley to tell her about the rape at all.

In an interview in a side bedroom, while Ashley watched TV with Peanut in another room, Regina recounted the details of her daughter's sexual assault, as she understands them. It was a weekend in the fall, shortly after lunchtime, and Ashley, then 12, had been outside their home making TikToks while her uncle and sibling were inside. A man came down the street and into the front yard, grabbed Ashley, and covered her mouth, Regina says. He pulled her around to the side of the house and raped her. Ashley told Regina that her assailant was an adult, and that she didn't know him. Nobody else witnessed the assault.

Shortly after finding out Ashley was pregnant, Regina filed a complaint with the Clarksdale police department. The department's assistant chief of police, Vincent Ramirez, confirmed to TIME that a police report had been filed in the matter, but refused to share the document because it involved a minor.

Regina says that another family member believed they had identified the rapist through social media sleuthing. The family says they flagged the man they suspected to the police, but the investigation seemed to go nowhere. Ramirez declined to comment, but an investigator in the department confirmed to TIME that an arrest has not yet been made. With their investigation still incomplete, police have not yet publicly said that they believe Ashley's pregnancy resulted from sexual assault.

Regina felt the police weren't taking the case seriously. She says she was told that in order to move the investigation forward, the police needed DNA from the baby after its birth. Experts say this is not unusual. Although it is technically possible to obtain DNA from a fetus, police are often reluctant to initiate an invasive procedure on a pregnant victim. They typically test DNA only on fetal remains, or after a baby is born.

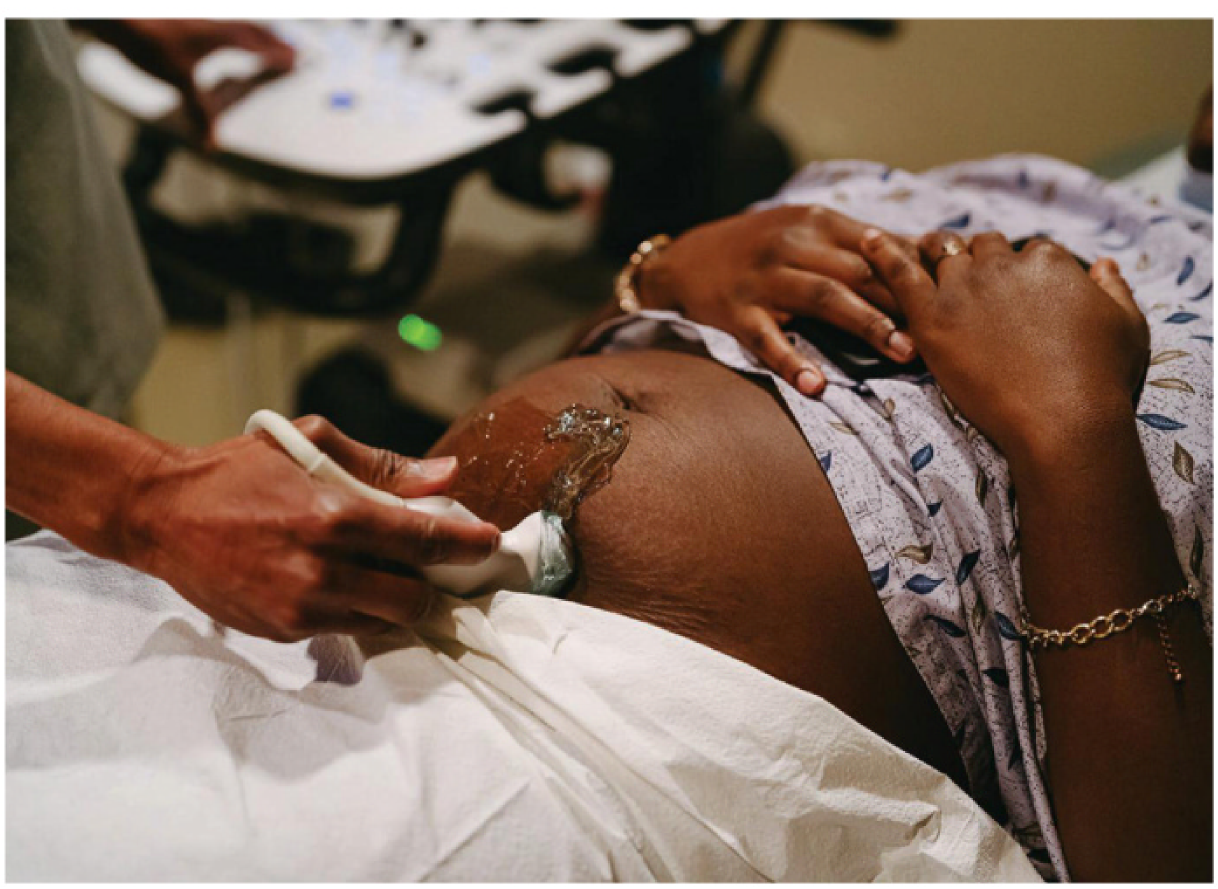
But almost three days after Peanut's birth, the police still hadn't picked up the DNA sample; it was only after inquiries from TIME that officers finally collected it. Asked at the Clarksdale police station why it had taken so long for crucial evidence to be obtained, Ramirez shrugged. "It's a pretty high priority, as a juvenile," he says. "Sometimes they slip a little bit because we've got a lot going on, but then they come back to it."

ASHLEY DOESN'T SAY MUCH when asked how it felt to learn she was pregnant. Her mouth twists, and she looks away. "Not good," she says after a long pause. "Not happy."

Regina's own feelings about abortion became more complicated as the pregnancy progressed. She got pregnant with her first daughter at 17, and was a mother at 18. "I was a teen," says Regina, now 33. "But I wasn't as young as her."

Regina had considered abortion during one of her own pregnancies. But her grandmother admonished her, "Your mama didn't abort you." Now Regina felt caught between her family's general disapproval of abortion and the realization that her 13-year-old daughter was pregnant as the result of a rape. "I wish she had just told me when it happened. We could have gotten Plan B or something," Regina says, referring to the emergency contraceptive often known as the "morning-after pill." "That would have been that."

Balthrop often sees this kind of ambivalence. Clarksdale is in the heart of the Bible Belt, and many of her patients are Black women from religious families. Even if they want to terminate their pregnancies, Balthrop says, many of them ultimately decide not to go through with it. Since the *Dobbs* decision, however, Balthrop has seen an increase in "incomplete abortions," which is when the pregnancy has been terminated but the uterus hasn't been fully emptied. Medication abortions—abortions managed with pills, which are increasingly available online—are overwhelmingly safe, but occasionally can have minor complications when the pills are not taken exactly as directed. "They're having complications after—not serious, but they'll come in with significant bleeding, and then we still have to finish the process," Balthrop says, explaining that treatment can involve evacuating dead fetal tissue.



Balthrop performs an ultrasound on a patient who is 14 weeks pregnant

According to Balthrop, Ashley didn't have complications during her pregnancy. But she didn't start speaking more until she felt the baby move, around her sixth month. "That's when it hit home," Balthrop says. "She'd complain about little aches and pains that she had never had before. That's when her mom would come in and say, 'She asked me this question,' and the three of us would sit and talk about it."

How did Ashley feel in anticipation of becoming a mother? "Nervous," is all she will say. Toward the end of the pregnancy, she was terrified of going into labor, Balthrop recalls. Most of her questions were about pushing, delivery, and how painful it would be. She was focused on "the delivery process itself," Balthrop says. "Not 'What am I going to do when I take this baby home?'"

More women are giving birth to more babies, in areas where there are already not enough doctors

THE CLARKSDALE WOMAN'S CLINIC, where Balthrop practices, is across the street from the emergency room at Northwest Regional Medical Center, where Ashley first learned she was pregnant. The clinic is large and welcoming, with comfortable chairs and paintings of flowers on the walls. The staff is kind and efficient, the space is clean, and it helps that the three ob-gyns on staff are Black, since most of the patients are Black women. The clinic's strong reputation attracts patients from an hour away in all directions. It is a lifeline in a vast region with few other maternity-health options.

Even for healthy patients, it can be dangerous to be pregnant in such a rural area. "We have patients who walk to our clinic. They don't have transportation," says Casey Shoun, an administrative assistant at Clarksdale Woman's. Some can get Medicaid transportation, but it's notoriously unreliable. The roads leading to the clinic don't have good sidewalks, and temperatures in the Delta regularly reach 100°F in the summer.

Shoun says the clinic gets patients who are six months pregnant by the time they have their first prenatal

appointment. "We've had patients who go to the hospital, and they've already delivered," Shoun says. Balthrop recalls one woman who went into labor about seven weeks early, and had to drive 45 minutes to get to the hospital. She was too late. "By the time she got here, the baby had passed already," Balthrop says.

Clarksdale Woman's is equipped to handle routine appointments for a healthy pregnancy like Ashley's. But a pregnant patient with any complication at all—from deep-vein thrombosis to diabetes, preeclampsia to advanced maternal age—will have to make a three-hour round-trip drive to Memphis to see the closest maternal-fetal-medicine specialist. The most vulnerable patients are often the ones who have to travel the farthest for pregnancy care.

One morning in August, as the clinic filled, Balthrop allowed TIME to interview consenting patients in the waiting room. One of them was Jessica Ray, 36, who was 13 weeks pregnant with her third child. Three years ago, when she suddenly went into labor with her second child at 33 weeks, she drove herself 45 minutes to the hospital and gave birth less than half an hour after she arrived. Ray knows the travel ordeals ahead of her: because she has a history of preeclampsia, she'll have to go see the specialist in Memphis each month. "You have to take off work and make sure somebody's getting your kids," Ray says.

Balthrop, who has three kids of her own, has long considered moving to a different region with a better education system. "I feel like I can't," she says. "I would be letting so many people down."

But the clinic is under serious financial strain. Between overhead, malpractice insurance, increasing costs, and decreasing insurance reimbursements, Balthrop and her colleagues can barely afford to keep Clarksdale Woman's open. They're considering selling the practice to a hospital 30 miles away. If that happened, Balthrop says, babies would no longer be delivered in Clarksdale, a city of less than 15,000. Some of her patients would have to leave the Delta—possibly driving an hour or more—to get even the most basic maternity care.

For the patients who already struggle to make it to Clarksdale, that would spell disaster. "They just wouldn't get care until they show up for delivery at the hospital," says Shoun, the administrative assistant. "Imagine if we weren't here. Where would they go?"



Ashley, two days after Peanut was born

ASHLEY STARTED FEELING CONTRACTIONS on a Saturday afternoon when she was 39 weeks pregnant. Regina came home from work, and together they started timing them. They arrived at the hospital around 8 p.m. that night. An exam revealed that Ashley was already 6 cm dilated. Her water broke soon after, and she got an epidural. She gave birth to Peanut within five hours. Ashley describes the birth in one word: "Painful."

For Regina, the arrival of her first grandchild has not eased the pain of watching what her daughter has endured. "This situation hurts the most because it was an innocent child doing what children do, playing outside, and it was my child," Regina says. "It still hurts, and is going to always hurt."

Ashley doesn't know anybody else who has a baby. She doesn't want her three friends at school to find out that she has one now. Regina is working on an arrangement with the school so Ashley can start seventh grade remotely until she's ready to go back in person. Relatives will babysit while Regina is at work. Is there anything about motherhood that Ashley is excited about? She twists her mouth, shrugs, and says nothing. Is there anything Ashley wants to say to other girls? "Be careful when you go outside," she says. "And stay safe."

There is only one moment when Ashley smiles a little, and it's when she describes the nurses she met in the doctors' office and delivery room. One of them, she remembers, was "nice" and "cool." She has decided that when she grows up, she wants to be a nurse too. "To help people," she says. For a second, she looks like any other soon-to-be seventh-grader sharing her childhood dream. Then Peanut stirs in his car seat. Regina says he needs to be fed. Ashley's face goes blank again. She is a mother now. —*With reporting by* LESLIE DICKSTEIN ☐

TIME 100 NEXT

The World's Rising Stars

Artists

KELSEA BALLERINI
COREY HAWKINS
STEPHANIE HSU
JULIO TORRES
MAYA HAWKE
+ MORE

Phenoms

JALEN HURTS
RACHEL ZEGLER
BELLA RAMSEY
ROSE ZHANG
PESO PLUMA
+ MORE

Leaders

MICHAEL REGAN
TOYIN AJAYI
MEGAN DAVIS
DAVID HOLT
HUMZA YOUSAF
+ MORE

Innovators

METRO BOOMIN
ISABELLA WEBER
RONALD ACUÑA JR.
KRISTEN KISH
HARMANPREET KAUR
+ MORE

Advocates

ADAM CONOVER
CYNTHIA HOUNIUHI
RIKKI HELD
DARIA KALENIUK
MERCY MUTEMI
+ MORE

Illustrations by Jonny Ruzzo for TIME

With reporting by Leslie Dickstein, Mariah Espada, Tara Law, Simmone Shah, and Julia Zorthian

Artists



KELSEA BALLERINI

30 • Old soul

By Shania Twain

Kelsea Ballerini and I first met at a country-music awards show. I remember thinking back then how talented she was as a songwriter at such a young age. She's an old soul in many ways. As a veteran songwriter, I'm always looking for authenticity, and I'm really inspired by clever songwriting—songwriting that is not only thought-provoking and meaningful but most of all original. Kelsea writes with all those qualities. She isn't afraid to be vulnerable and really brave with her songwriting. She's also a great friend. We have such a special relationship that is just so real, and that can be rare in our industry. I watch her work incredibly hard and challenge herself, but she also has fun, and that is wonderful to see. At this year's CMT Awards, she performed with a full troupe of drag queens as her backup dancers, which was fabulous. She has a powerful sense of self in those moments: she knows exactly where her heart is, and she always leads with love and inclusivity.

Twain is a Grammy-winning singer-songwriter

PHOTOGRAPH BY CAROLINE TOMPKINS FOR TIME



COREY HAWKINS

34 • Transformative joy

By Suzan-Lori Parks

I've been a fan of Corey Hawkins for forever, so I was thrilled when he agreed to play Lincoln in my play *Topdog/Underdog* last year. Some actors get up onstage and—it's OK to be just OK. But that's not an option for Corey.

It's hard for a brother, for a Black man, to be living in this world today. While there are so many opportunities open—the challenges are also bigger than ever before. And for Corey to be that powerful and that vulnerable onstage, in front of a live audience, night after night, takes tremendous talent and skill. When we won the Tony Award for Best Revival of a Play this spring, I said that Corey "played every night like there was no tomorrow."

People just don't do that—artists too often play it safe. But Corey, onstage every night, took all the risks. He went to those deep places artists don't come back from. And he came back, every night. And that, to me, is the mark of a genius-genius artist.

Corey is also a righteous brother to work with. He **is** joyful, honorable, and he is brave. Corey is excellence and inclusion. So when you bring in Corey Hawkins you're going to get both.

Parks is a Pulitzer-winning playwright and screenwriter

HAWKINS: ADAM AMENGUAL; NEWELL: MACKENZIE STROH—CONTOUR RA/GETTY IMAGES; KAHAN: TAYLOR HILL—GETTY IMAGES FOR BOSTON CALLING

Alex Newell

31 · BREAKOUT STAR

By Mary Steenburgen

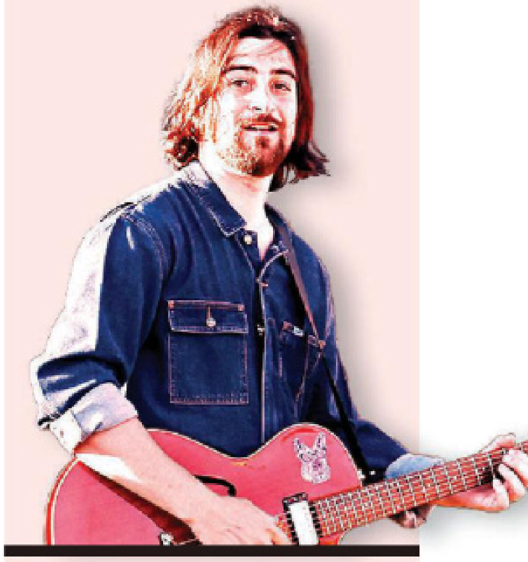
If you don't know who Alex Newell is yet, you will soon. I was privileged to spend three years working with Alex. I sat next to them at the first read-through of our TV series. Bad move. I was so dazzled by Alex's talent that I couldn't focus on anything. Years later, I still shake my head in wonder.

Logic might tell you that growing up as Alex might not have been easy. As they said in their Tony Awards acceptance speech earlier this year: "I should not be up here as a queer, nonbinary, fat, Black little baby from Massachusetts. And to anyone that thinks that they can't do it, I'm going to look you dead in your face [and tell you] that you can do anything you put your mind to." Was it their amazing mother, their church, or some kind of genetic alchemy that caused their voice to emerge so powerful, unafraid, and divine?

When Alex stands on stage in *Shucked* and sings "Independently Owned," the song that helped them win the Tony, you can literally feel the audience's breathlessness. As someone who is honored to call Alex my friend, I couldn't be prouder. They are my shining hero.

Steenburgen is an Oscar-winning actor





Noah Kahan

26 · FINDING BEAUTY

By Mikaela Shiffrin

Noah Kahan is so honest in everything he does. He connects with people on a personal level because he cuts right through to the core of what they are feeling. His music puts words to emotions that we all have but don't really understand, giving them greater meaning through his haunting melodies. Noah grew up in the town right next to where I lived for some of the most formative years of my life. His breakthrough 2022 album *Stick Season* talks about growing up and all of the little towns nestled together in that area with such a perfect balance of nostalgia, love, and derision. The way he can point out flaws in a place or in life without stripping away the importance and beauty is so rare. He sings about change and learning and growth in such a way that it makes the rest of us feel it's OK not to have everything figured out. I truly believe Noah's work is groundbreaking. He could not have come at a better time. When everyone in the world seems desperate for either perfection or disarray but nobody can seem to figure out which is which, Noah can. Or better put, Noah Kahan.

Shiffrin is a two-time Olympic gold medalist skier



PAUL MESCAL

27 • Honest presence

By Colin Farrell

Why is it that the finest actors leave us with the sense that we know them? Even if they are—in life—unknown to us. Paul Mescal exemplifies the answer to that question, for there is something indelibly honest about his work. Something that allows us a feeling of recognition. It's not so much what he shows you, but instead what he makes of himself available for you to see.

There are things that an artist can grow into: craft, a deepening of the heart. But there is an honesty to some actors so intrinsic that it forms the foundation upon which all else grows. The first time I saw Paul perform, what moved me was his ability to stand in silence and take in the world around him so I could experience it through him. I was riveted, and it has been the same in every performance since. It is the sincerity of his every word and gesture that makes me so excited for what he's yet to share with us.

Farrell is an Oscar-nominated actor

Emily Henry

33 · QUEEN OF BANTER

By Taylor Jenkins Reid

One of the perks of being an author is getting advanced copies of forthcoming books, and I've gotten an early look at quite a few blockbusters over the years. But no novels have ever elicited prepublication groveling from my friends and family like Emily Henry's *Book Lovers* and *Happy Place.*

That's because Emily knows how to craft a love story like the all-time greats. She pulls on the heartstrings. She knocks you over with the perfect ending. And perhaps most spectacularly, she's the queen of banter. Each of her books is full of devastatingly clever, swoon-inducing repartee.

Her quips call to mind talents like Dorothy Parker and the oft-cited Nora Ephron, but what Emily does is entirely her own. She interrogates the dynamics of romantic comedy within a romantic comedy. She subverts the very tropes she uses. And she gives us flawed, imperfect women to root for. In doing so, she helps us root for ourselves.

Reid is a best-selling author and Emmy-nominated producer





Mona Chalabi

36 · DATA POWER

Mona Chalabi, a journalist and writer known for her powerful data visualizations, uses playful graph drawings, humanistic characters, and wry humor to impart facts and spark curiosity. Chalabi describes her work as "rehumanizing" data, and has used her platform to advocate for change, publishing illustrated charts breaking down statistics about racial violence and police brutality. This year, she won a Pulitzer Prize for an illustrated report on the immense wealth of Jeff Bezos. —*Cady Lang*

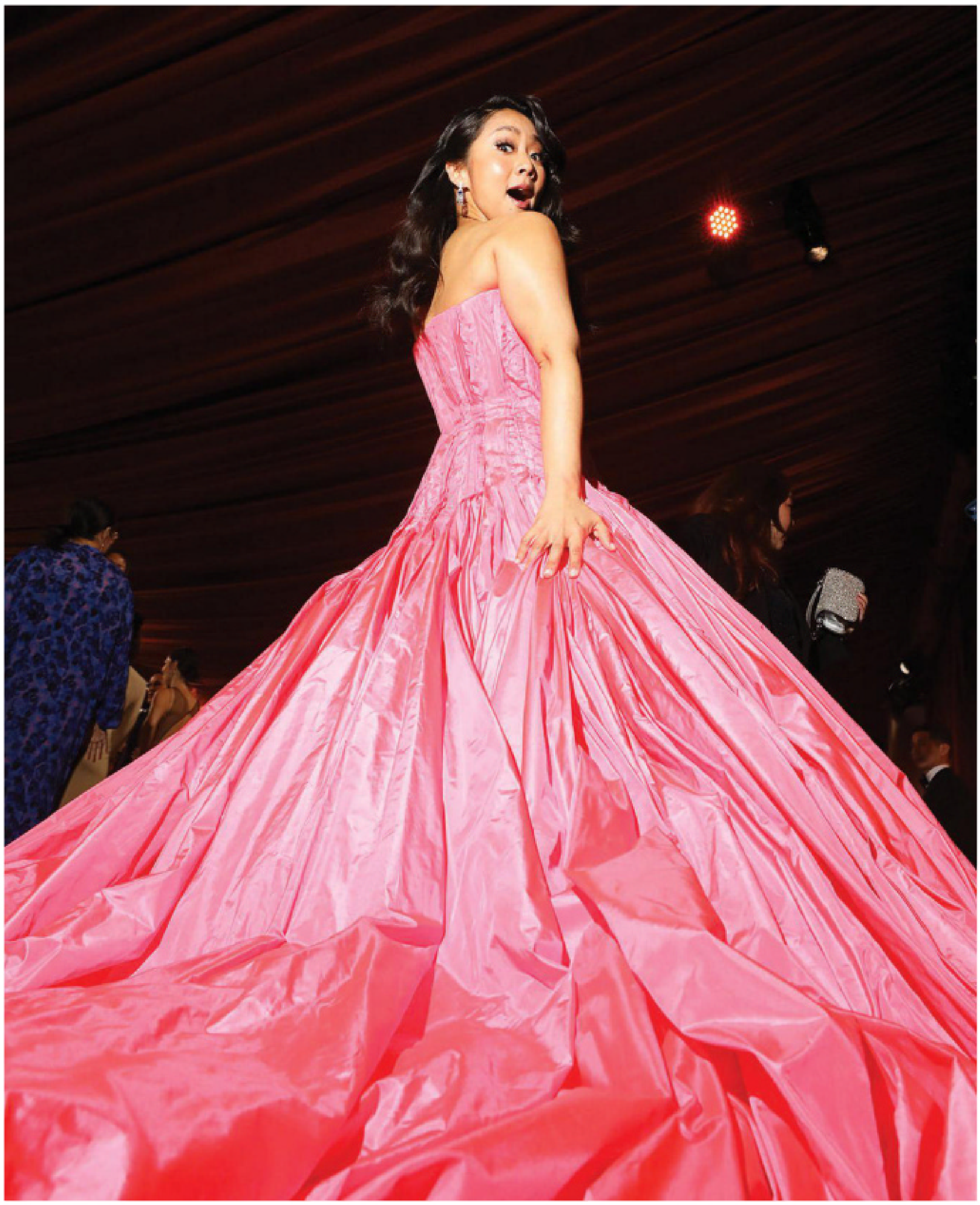


WangShui

37 · AI CREATOR

WangShui uses many strange tools and mediums in their art: they paint with rags, scratch on aluminum surfaces, and create art that changes based on the carbon dioxide levels of museum visitors. WangShui is also a pioneer of artificial-intelligence art at a time when many artists abhor its advances. They train an AI with their past work, which generates new images, which then inspire new works by hand. Those creations are on a world tour, stopping in Shanghai, Munich, and New York City. —*Andrew R. Chow*

MESCAL: JORDAN STRAUSS—INVISION/AP; HENRY: DEVYN GLISTA/ST. BLANC STUDIOS; CHALABI: SOURCE PHOTO: CRAIG BARRITT—GETTY IMAGES FOR THE METEOR; WANGSHUI: SOURCE PHOTO: MARYAM HOSEINI; HSU: SINNA NASSERI—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; HALSEY: NAIMA GREEN—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX



STEPHANIE HSU

32 • Paradigm shifter

By Natasha Lyonne

Stephanie Hsu and I chatted as we went for our COVID boosters one day on set. Suddenly I was getting the most confident advice from a new gun on the scene. She said, "No one but me gets to define my future or limitations." That blew me away. Historically, we who have been told we are "other" have accepted the scraps handed us in a world that pre-defines us arbitrarily as outsiders. But, no more. See, Stephanie knows she has the talent to back up her ambitions and that very rare gift: a sense of self-worth and awareness of her limitless potential. Hearing those words from her was a tectonic-plate-shifting moment for me. I came out of that room a new person, ready to take on our scene with altered gusto. It's a joy watching as Stephanie appropriately takes over the world by being hilarious, heartbreaking, singular . . . and knowing it. She's a new era, and it's a gift to bask in the golden glow of what she's given us so far and to know she's just revving up.

Lyonne is an Emmy-nominated actor, writer, director and producer

LAUREN HALSEY

36 • Celebrating South Central

By Mark Bradford

Lauren Halsey's innovative approach to art puts community at the center of her work. As an artist and collaborator, she builds monuments to South Central L.A. that are celebratory exercises in local autonomy. As an activist and philanthropist, her vision is so much larger, encompassing food drives, public installations, and community organizing.

Lauren's ground-up approach to collaboration untangles complicated questions around representation and context, broadening the definition of the artist. Her most recent commission for the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Roof Garden, an installation that draws from the visuals of ancient Egypt, contemporary graffiti, and more, is evidence that art can be both a singular and plural process—one that's inspired by individual rigor and driven forward with communal effort. Let's hope one day she can fulfill her vision of finding a permanent place in South Central for this monument to the richness of a place we both call home.

Bradford is an artist



Vinu Daniel

41 · HYPERLOCAL

By Paola Antonelli

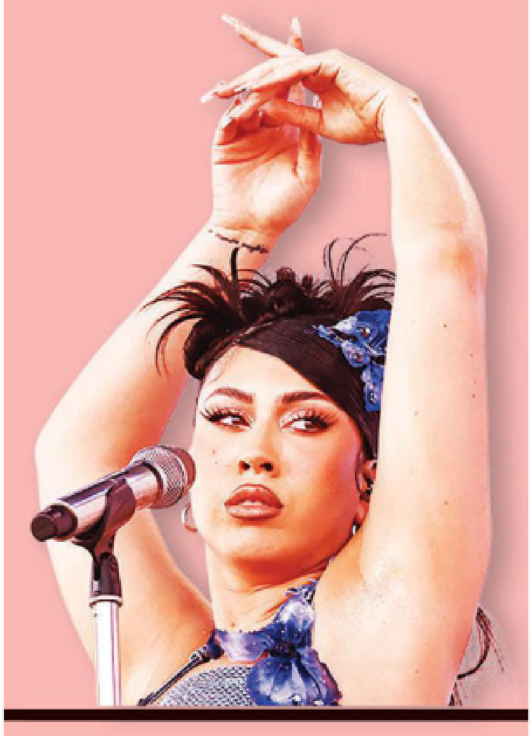
Vinu Daniel once told me his best teachers were masons, workers, and locals in Kerala, India. While a student there, he met his hero Laurie Baker—an architect celebrated for energy-efficient, evocative buildings—who shared Gandhi's advice: the ideal house should be made of materials found within a five-mile radius.

Hyperlocal materials and techniques make for mighty elegant buildings, it turns out. In the hands of Vinu's studio, Wallmakers, mud bricks swirl in pirouettes, and debris from previous walls becomes new walls. Pictures from construction sites exude pride and delight in craftsmanship and teamwork.

Vinu teaches us respect for local wisdom and material culture are key for a truly responsible attitude toward the environment and the future, saying, "Whatever project you're working on, can you reduce something about it? Can you reduce it by one bag of cement? Can you save one tree? Then you are on your own path to sustainability."

Antonelli is a senior curator of architecture and design at the Museum of Modern Art





Kali Uchis

29 · EXPRESSIVE TALENT

By Diane Guerrero

My mom used to call me *muñeca.* When I hear Kali Uchis sing, *"Veo una muñeca cuando miro en el espejo kiss kiss,"* what comes instantly to mind is the love I have for myself, summoned through this enchantment.

Yes, Kali is the first Latin female artist to reach a billion streams. But it's the attunement to love's power that we connect with through Kali's artistry. And the joy we witness through the integrity of her self-expression.

Label executives told Kali that reaching both English and Spanish audiences with her songs would be hard. But she wrote the music that spoke to her, and she won over those audiences nonetheless. She represents so much of what many of us feel but haven't been able to express. Her layered talents—lyricism, production, performance, filmmaking—demand our attention. Yet her work is never forced.

Kali Uchis is not of this world. She just parked her spaceship here, and all we did was wake up lucky enough to have her.

Guerrero is an actor

Celine Song

34 · GENEROUS DIRECTOR

By Pedro Pascal

When you meet Celine Song, you can't be surprised that her heart and mind are just as large and sophisticated as her work. Even so, my eyes will always be adjusting to the magic of her presence and, more so, her friendship. In my imagination I'm special enough to have had my own "past life" with Celine; the generosity of her gaze taps into a familiar longing, an understanding you've always needed, a space you've never known how to fill. She will step into that space like a work of literature, and you are less alone. She will see you when you don't see yourself. I've kissed a lot of ass in my day and I've meant every word, but Celine is at the top. There is nothing like her film, and there is no one like her. We must look after her, because she is looking after all of us.

Pascal is an Emmy-nominated actor





Tyler James Williams

30 · EFFORTLESS WIT

By Terry Crews

I met a 13-year-old Tyler James Williams on my first TV show, and I was *nervous.* I'd always heard the biggest obstacles on set were kids and animals. We were delving into the great Chris Rock's past, and this kid would need to be a superstar. But as a dad myself, I also worried about the pressure children in Hollywood face.

Then we had our first scenes together. Tyler delivered his lines effortlessly, his comedic instincts razor-sharp. And when he was done working, he broke out into a big, beautiful smile.

That Tyler has grown into a brilliant talent is no surprise. I ran into him last year and told him how proud and thankful I am to have worked with someone who, at such a young age, carried the show. He gave me that smile. There's nothing harder than going from child star to adult star, but Tyler has always been comfortable with himself, and it's why he'll continue to shine.

Crews is an actor and former NFL player

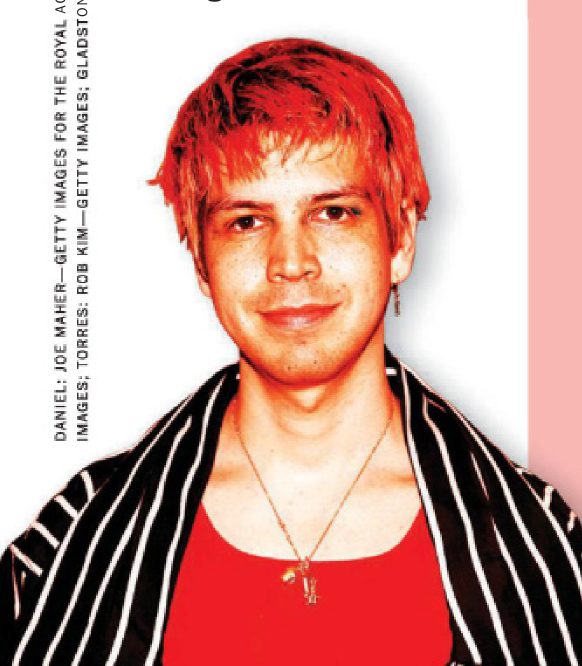
Julio Torres

36 · DELIGHTING IN POSSIBILITY

By Tilda Swinton

There is a place for us.
A universe uncovered by writer, director, comedian Julio Torres that, if you haven't already found your way into it, is at hand.
A universe that's good for your soul, so get ready to lay down your arms.
In this realm, something magical is possible: We feel somehow better about humans, even about being human ourselves.
We are suddenly fond of our species—and despite all the ludicrous, butter-fingered, serpentine ways in which we endeavor, valiantly, to defeat ourselves, we somehow seem redeemable.
The awe with which we might stand in the face of our capacity to self-sabotage has never been so incontrovertibly rendered hilarious.
And the incomparable kindness with which Julio delivers us to the edge of this enlightenment has a (wicked) gentleness: the lightest brush of the pinion of the wisest angel in the fleet. Get ready, he's on his way with wings outspread.
Surrender. He'll take it from here.

Swinton is an Oscar-winning actor





Lily Gladstone

37 · EXHILARATING PERFORMER

By Riley Keough

If you've seen Lily Gladstone's films, you know the magnetism and depth she conveys onscreen. In all of Lily's performances, she is able to bring a raw presence and incredible emotional honesty. It's hard to keep your eyes off of her. She is exhilarating to watch. Something so singular about Lily is she is an extremely trained performer and an extremely prepared performer, but is able to perform with the honesty and rawness of a first-time performer. I was lucky enough to act with Lily this year on a series. What I got to see was not only her talent, incredible work ethic, and intellect on set, but also her thoughtfulness, kindness, deep empathy, and elegance outside of work. She is a star onscreen and a real light in the world off-screen.

Keough is an Emmy-nominated actor

Emma Corrin

27 · EVINCING WISDOM

By Dan Levy

I had met Emma Corrin only once before I invited them to stay with me in Los Angeles. Which says a lot considering my crippling social anxiety. We went for dinner after one of their (Olivier-nominated) theater performances in London and bonded over a fear of losing ourselves to newfound waves of attention, both struggling with having suddenly become public figures during the pandemic. Emma and I vowed to be there for each other if things ever got overwhelming. But what's clear is that their success—a singular, groundbreaking career that is only just getting started—is firmly anchored by their wisdom and an unwavering dedication to who they are. Truth is, they've never needed help, but it is a privilege to be there for them if they ever do.

Levy is an Emmy-winning actor, director, and writer





Maya Hawke

25 · CREATIVE FORCE

By Jennifer Kaytin Robinson

I met Maya Hawke on a Zoom call in 2020, and within moments I knew I was talking to someone I wanted to know forever. As an actor, Maya is a dream collaborator because she is not just a gifted performer; she also has the soul of a writer. She is wise in a way that makes you question if she's secretly been alive for thousands of years. She sees the world through a lens all her own and brings this sense of absolute wonder to everything that she touches. Maya is fearless. She is totally unbothered by what is expected, and is on her own quest to explore every nook and cranny of life. She is a tornado of love, an unignorable force. She inspires me all the time, and watching her inspire others is such an absolute joy. But the most striking thing about Maya is how deeply she connects with people. She is an open wound oozing with empathy, always searching for new ways to reach out and invite others to love their wounds too.

Robinson is a director, writer, and producer

DANIEL: JOE MAHER—GETTY IMAGES FOR THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS; UCHIS: CHRISTOPHER POLK—VARIETY/GETTY IMAGES; SONG: TAYLOR JEWELL—INVISION/AP; WILLIAMS: JON KOPALOFF—GETTY IMAGES; TORRES: ROB KIM—GETTY IMAGES; GLADSTONE: TAYLOR JEWELL—INVISION/AP; CORRIN: DAVE BENETT—GETTY IMAGES FOR CARTIER; HAWKE: EMMA MCINTYRE—GETTY IMAGES FOR ABA

Phenoms



JALEN HURTS

25 • The future of football

By Peyton Manning

I first met Jalen Hurts—who led the Philadelphia Eagles to the Super Bowl earlier this year—when he was in college and a counselor at the Manning Passing Academy, a summer football camp for high school players. I've admired him ever since. I strongly respect his willingness to learn. He's always thinking about getting better. For example, he will sometimes text me questions about plays that his team can run in the red zone. Though I sometimes have to remind him I haven't played in seven years (I have to dig into some old archives to remember plays), I've so enjoyed these conversations. Jalen is a natural leader who cares about his job and the organization that he plays for. The Eagles signed Jalen to a record-breaking contract extension this offseason, and he feels that accountability and responsibility to make them glad they made that investment. He's not celebrating. He doesn't see it as a reward. He sees it for what it is: the Eagles are paying him for what they expect him to do now. He's a model of how to approach a job. This is where the hard work begins.

Manning is a two-time Super Bowl champion

PHOTOGRAPH BY KRISTA SCHLUETER FOR TIME



R.F. KUANG

27 • Capturing complexity

By Constance Wu

When I began reading R.F. Kuang's 2023 novel *Yellowface,* I could not put it down. It was thrilling to me to have an Asian American writer write something that is so prescient and engaged with issues such as cultural appropriation, anti-wokeness, cancel culture, and the internet mob, questioning authority and gatekeeping. It's the kind of story that you can't stop talking about, which is the kind of television I want to watch—engrossing stories that spark conversation. Like any great artist, she's not preoccupied with external perception. There is a wildness and freedom to her work that is extraordinary. Her characters are complex and human; nothing feels contrived.

Wu is an actor and the author of Making a Scene

Bella Ramsey

19 · FORMIDABLE ACTOR

By Emma D'Arcy

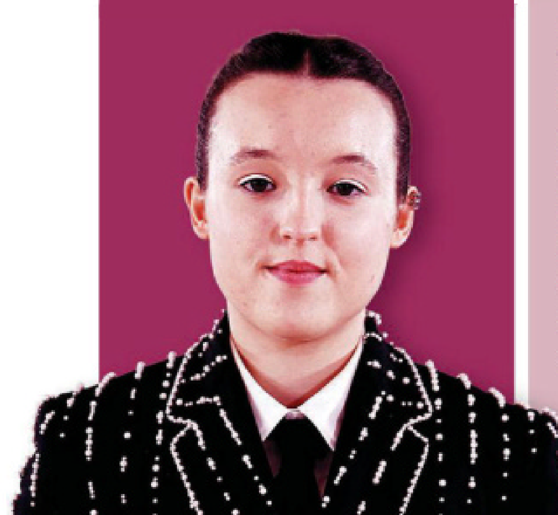
When I think of Bella Ramsey, the phrase that comes to mind is *radical honesty.* Onscreen and off, their remarkable power is in an outright refusal of pretense or persona, choosing instead the riskier path: candor, generosity, and the bravery to be. The result is a formidable actor, and one of the most charming people you could meet.

Bella's captivating screen presence has been undeniable from the start. Their first professional acting gig, seen by millions, was met with universal acclaim. Bella was only 11.

In the eight years since, they've become an inspiring figure in the LGBTQIA+ community, a radical force for change within film and TV, and were even nominated for an Emmy. Through it all, they maintained their grounded humility and exquisite, dry humor.

As a nonbinary person starting out as an actor, I feared there wasn't space for me in the mainstream industry. Young trans and gender-nonconforming people coming into film and TV today will know that there is indeed space, in no small part because of Bella.

D'Arcy is an actor





Laura Modi and Sarah Hardy

38 AND 43 · CHANGING THE FORMULA

A handful of producers have dominated the American baby-formula industry for decades, and the industry isn't known for being on the cutting edge. But after Laura Modi and Sarah Hardy had children, they found they were dissatisfied with the options. They turned that frustration into a company, Bobbie, which touts that it follows not only the infant-formula standards set by the FDA, but also those of the European Union, and is both USDA- and E.U.-certified organic. They've made a splash in the market and grown quickly, reaching $100 million in lifetime revenue in 2022. This summer, Bobbie acquired a formula manufacturer, aiming to take control of its own production. Modi, who is Bobbie's CEO, says she hopes scaling up can help prevent formula shortages like the one that affected families in 2022—while also strengthening control over its recipe to ensure it's as safe and healthy for babies as possible. It's also expected to enable them to feed three times as many babies. Bobbie aims to keep pushing the industry status quo to raise the quality of infant formula, Modi says. "It's making sure that infant formula always meets the latest science." —*Tara Law*

KUANG: CAROLINE TOMPKINS; RAMSEY: KEVIN MAZUR—MG23/GETTY IMAGES FOR THE MET MUSEUM/VOGUE; MODI AND HARDY: SOURCE PHOTO: COURTESY BOBBIE

Pinky Cole

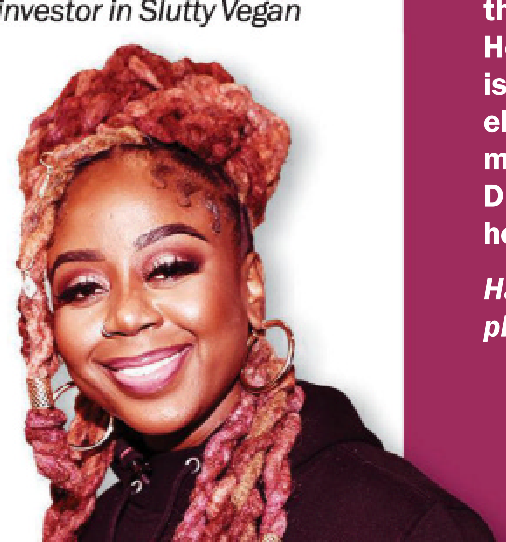
35 · SPICING UP VEGAN FOOD

By Danny Meyer

Pinky Cole is irrepressible. Nothing will stop her from showing the world that vegan food can be fun. And that fun can be good for the planet. Her myriad fans adore her sassy, sexy attitude that has not only reinvented the way people think about a vegan restaurant, but also turned classic roadside burger fare into a rollicking party—one few want to miss, evidenced by unbelievable lines of customers stretching for blocks and blocks, and forming hours before Slutty Vegan debuts in any of the lucky cities where it's open for business.

As for the food, it is more than fun. It is downright craveable. I dare anyone to hold back on devouring crispy fries sprinkled with "slut dust," and I've never seen anyone not polish off their One Night Stand—Slutty Vegan's popular plant-based burger topped with vegan cheese, bacon, and caramelized onions. Pinky is leading a movement and feeding a yearning desire to belong to a tribe that insists that virtue—and good, naughty fun—make very good bedfellows.

Meyer is a restaurateur, founder of Union Square Hospitality Group, and an investor in Slutty Vegan





Grace Wales Bonner

32 · RESONANT DESIGNER

By Jeremy O. Harris

When I first saw Grace Wales Bonner's designs, I was taken by her sense of history. Young Black men walked along a flower-lined runway adorned with charms and pendants reminiscent of those worn by men from Ghanaian photographs I'd seen only in faded black-and-white or sepia prints. Her work reminded me of literary figures—in and around it, I saw echoes of oft-ignored titans such as Samuel Delany, Ishmael Reed, and Chester Himes. This is not the aesthetic of most ready-to-wear menswear designers. At a moment when capitalism is at its loudest, dissuading young artists from making art when content is easier to consume, she is a true artist—multidisciplined and unabashedly curious.

She was also aptly named. Her surname, Wales Bonner, invokes a sense of regality, stature, and speaks to the complex history of the Jamaican diaspora. Her first name, Grace, is defined as "simple elegance or refinement of movement." This is in the DNA of every aspect of her artistry.

Harris is a Tony-nominated playwright

Sophia Smith

23 · HIGH SCORER

Even since American soccer star Sophia Smith was a young player growing up in Colorado, she had a nose for the back of the net. "I just have that constant hunger to score," says Smith. "It's not even something I'm consciously thinking about. It just clicks in my body." Smith, the Portland Thorns FC forward, led the National Women's Soccer League in goals entering September, with 11. At the World Cup this summer, she scored two goals and assisted on the other in the U.S. team's 3-0 opening-game win over Vietnam.

Smith's World Cup did end on a down note: she missed a penalty shoot-out kick against Sweden that could have pushed the Americans through to the quarterfinals (Sweden eventually prevailed). This setback, however, allows her to inspire fans in a different way. "You don't let those moments completely define who you are," says Smith. "When something doesn't go your way, you can let it take you down, or you learn and grow from that moment and be better from it. I'm choosing that route."

—Sean Gregory





Peso Pluma

24 · WINNING OVER THE WORLD

Regional Mexican music—a genre that encompasses several subgenres native to rural Mexico—is going global, and singer-songwriter Peso Pluma is at the forefront of the sonic shift. In April, "Ella Baila Sola," a collaboration between Peso Pluma and the group Eslabon Armado, made history when it became the first regional Mexican song to reach the top 10 of the *Billboard* Hot 100. Now Peso Pluma, already the most-streamed artist in Mexico and the CEO of his own recently launched record label, is performing his June album *Génesis* to sold-out shows in his first-ever U.S. tour. He feels gratified to have introduced his urban trap spin on corridos, or traditional Mexican ballads, to hundreds of millions of listeners in the U.S. and across the world. "Putting the flag, the sound and culture of Mexico up with me brings me great pride," Peso Pluma, speaking Spanish, says. "No one can take that from me."

—Mariah Espada



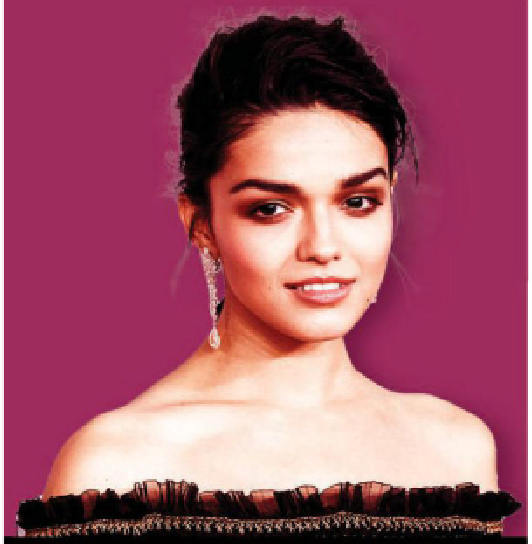
Ice Spice

23 · ASCENDANT ARTIST

By Ziwe

What is there to say about the woman who raps, "How can I lose if I'm already chose"? Whatever you or I may think about Ice Spice doesn't really matter. A higher power has ordained the Bronx native as the heir apparent of hip-pop, and she has no intention of letting go of that tiara. Haters be damned. This year mobs of adoring fans, performances around the globe, viral hit songs, and top-tier co-signs from Taylor Swift and Nicki Minaj proved her ascendancy. With lyrics like "I'm thick because I be eating oats," it's clear that Ms. Spice is tapped into a higher plane than the rest of us. I once met the famed redhead at a photo shoot. In a room full of stars, she was the baddie I wanted to sit with the most. Consider me a member of the Spice Cabinet, somewhere between paprika and cumin. Ice Spice is the people's princess ... and she knows it.

Ziwe is a writer and comedian, and author of the forthcoming book Black Friend



Rachel Zegler

22 · INSPIRING VOICE

By Rita Moreno

Rachel Zegler has a reservoir of emotions that she's able to pull from every time she performs. I first heard her singing during rehearsals for a film, and I thought, Wow, this is a find! I told her that I sh-t a brick when I heard her voice. You just don't hear voices like that in movies anymore. She's a triple threat, which is also rare in the industry these days, and witnessing her talent conjures memories from making MGM movie musicals with stars like Deanna Durbin, Jane Powell, and Kathryn Grayson. Rachel's singing makes me think of silvery tones, and I hope her talent helps bring coloratura voices back to the big screen.

A very important lesson I learned—being Latina in particular, which worked against me so much and for so long—is that you need to have the stuff to withstand all that and still remain a positive person. I know, without a doubt, Rachel has all that and more.

Moreno is an Emmy-, Grammy-, Oscar-, and Tony-winning actor

Rose Zhang

20 · GIFTED GOLFER

By Michelle Wie West

Aside from her excellent golf game, what's most impressive about Rose Zhang is her poise. She carries a level of inner calm and confidence that blew me away when I first got to know her. It's especially apparent when she's playing under immense pressure—like at the Mizuho Americas Open earlier this year, where she made history by becoming the first golfer in 72 years to win her LPGA debut.

Rose is a fierce competitor but, more importantly, she's an incredibly supportive teammate and friend. It's clear that she cares about uplifting other players just as much as she cares about performing well, and that's what makes her such a remarkable role model. I just know that she's going to continue to flourish as a student at Stanford and as a woman out on tour, and I absolutely can't wait to keep watching her win.

Wie West is a professional golfer who retired from the LPGA tour this year





Tems

28 · STANDOUT SINGER

By Mary J. Blige

Tems is in a class all by herself because no other artist sounds like her. That voice is so unique and original, so much so that it reminds me of the first time I heard Nina Simone. They both sing with emotion and conviction, making you feel every word they sing. When Tems and I finally had a chance to meet last year at the Grammy Awards, we just exploded on each other, giving each other so much love. I know she will make it far because she's a talented writer, singer, and producer—my only hope for her is that she becomes one of the biggest artists of her time. Talent is one thing, but how you treat people and treat yourself in this industry brings longevity, and I believe she will be around for a while because she's a beautiful human being inside and out.

Blige is a Grammy-winning and Oscar-nominated singer-songwriter

COLE: JOHNNY NUNEZ—GETTY IMAGES FOR SLUTTY VEGAN; BONNER: DAVE BENETT—GETTY IMAGES; SMITH: CARMEN MANDATO—GETTY IMAGES FOR USSF; PLUMA: JOHN LOCHER—AP; ICE SPICE: KEVIN MAZUR—TAS23/GETTY IMAGES FOR TAS RIGHTS MANAGEMENT; ZEGLER: WIKTOR SZYMANOWICZ—ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY IMAGES; ZHANG: PRESS ASSOCIATION/AP IMAGES; TEMS: AMY HARRIS—INVISION/AP



XIYE BASTIDA

21 • Climate champion

By Nalleli Cobo

As a teen, Xiye Bastida was known as a progressive voice within New York City's climate movement. Now leaders around the world have heard her call for change. In 2020, Xiye co-founded the Re-Earth Initiative—an international, youth-led organization devoted to magnifying the intersections of the climate crisis with other forms of injustice. Her unwavering commitment to amplifying the voices of marginalized individuals and communities stands as a testament to her character. Just a few years later, Xiye is already one of the most prominent climate-justice activists of our generation, her call for change heard by leaders around the world. As we march toward a brighter future, Xiye's example serves as a guiding light—a constant reminder that the pursuit of a more equitable world requires advocates like her standing in solidarity with and lifting up others as they pave the way to a just and sustainable world.

Cobo is an environmental activist

Salma Paralluelo

19 · GAME-CHANGING PLAYER

Salma Paralluelo of Spain may not have scored a goal during her team's 1-0 win over England in the 2023 World Cup final, but her presence was unmistakable. She was always in the mix, attacking the Lionesses on offense, causing trouble on the defensive side of the ball. Her goals as a super sub in the quarterfinals and semis helped pave Spain's road to its first World Cup title: Paralluelo was named best young player at the World Cup and announced herself as a future icon of the women's game. What's frightening for the rest of the world: Paralluelo was a young track star who, up until about a year ago, didn't focus full time on soccer. Now all-in on the beautiful game, she scored a hat trick in her senior national team debut against Argentina in November 2022, and became the first soccer player ever to hold concurrent world titles at the under-17, under-20, and senior levels. Remember Paralluelo's name. You're likely to hear it for decades.

—Sean Gregory





Alexandra Cooper

29 · INTREPID CONVERSATIONALIST

By Chelsea Handler

The unapologetically brilliant Alexandra Cooper is not your average influencer. She's not out there peddling detox teas. No: this woman is a force to be reckoned with in the world of podcasting.

If you haven't tuned in to her hit show *Call Her Daddy*, then you're missing out on some next-level entertainment. Alex fearlessly dives into the corners of the human psyche with her razor-sharp wit and unmatched storytelling skills. She's like Nancy Drew on steroids, minus the collared dresses.

On top of her roles as a newsmaking celebrity interviewer and burgeoning new-media magnate, she's also a champion for women's empowerment and sexual liberation. She tackles taboo topics and breaks down barriers, all while making us laugh our asses off. Who knew you could giggle and gasp in horror at the same time? (Well, I did, actually.)

Alex is changing the game, one story at a time. And she's just getting started.

Handler is a comedian and producer

BASTIDA: MIRANDA BARNES; PARALLUELO: GRANT DOWN—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; COOPER: RODIN ECKENROTH—GETTY IMAGES; TAYLOR: SEAN PRESSLEY; BIEBER: CINDY ORD—MG22/GETTY IMAGES FOR THE MET MUSEUM/VOGUE

EVERETTE TAYLOR

34 • Breaking barriers

By Aurora James

When I think about the changemakers paving the way for Black leaders in business right now, no one stands out more than Everette Taylor. As the first Black CEO of Kickstarter and a creative titan, Everette has made it his purpose to ensure that Black entrepreneurs, creatives, and industry hopefuls have the tools they need to make their dreams a reality. These goals are defined by his origins. Starting his career path at just 19 years old, each of Everette's roles has taken on a life of its own—from building several multimillion-dollar brands to working toward democratizing the art world as CMO at Artsy. The range of his experience is indicative of a leader who approaches all of his ventures with a vision of empathy, innovation, and a commitment to building a more inclusive society.

Black entrepreneurs continue to face barriers not only in their ability to raise funds, but also in finding people who understand their stories—I know that firsthand. Everette's work aims to disrupt a system that has historically excluded Black stories, and to redefine crowdfunding for future Black generations.

James is the founder of Brother Vellies and the Fifteen Percent Pledge





HAILEY BIEBER

26 • Mogul in the making

By Ashley Graham

Hailey Bieber is a Renaissance woman. I mean, really, what can't she do? She conquered the world of high-end fashion and is now a supermodel with a successful YouTube channel and an amazing beauty brand, Rhode Skin, that she launched last year. Her marriage is thriving, she's strong in her faith, and, despite everything that she juggles as a creator and a founder, she still manages to stay true to herself. That's what I love most about Hailey, the fact that she's exactly the same on and off the red carpet. There's no alternate version of her. She's sweet, kind, and genuine—a total girl's girl—all the time. She's truly making a name for herself, and I think this is just the beginning. I'll be rooting her on as she builds an empire.

Graham is a model and an activist

Leaders



VICTOR J. GLOVER JR.

47 • Lunar pilot

Victor Glover was standing in the rotunda of the Russell Senate Office Building in 2013, serving as a legislative aide to Senator John McCain, when his phone rang with an entirely different kind of job offer. It was NASA calling, to ask Glover if he wanted to join the incoming class of rookie astronauts. The former fighter pilot, who saw action in the Iraq War and had applied to the space agency months before, accepted without hesitation. The next morning, he received an email from NASA with details about his new position. The subject line was simply "It wasn't a dream." Glover went on to fly aboard the International Space Station from November 2020 to May 2021. In April 2023, NASA tapped him for another job that might well have felt like a dream, naming him to the four-person crew of Artemis II, which will fly around the far side of the moon late next year. Glover will be the first person of color to make a lunar journey, and the significance of that is not lost on him. "Inclusion has become one of NASA's core values," he says. "My feeling is like that of Vice President Harris, when she's asked about being the first woman in her role. She says, 'Firsts are great, but you've got to make sure you're not the last.'"
—Jeffrey Kluger

PHOTOGRAPH BY PAOLO VERZONE—GALLERIE D'ITALIA/INTESA SANPAOLO/VU FOR TIME



YULIA SVYRYDENKO

37 • Building new foundations

By Gina Raimondo

When First Deputy Prime Minister of Ukraine and Economy Minister Yulia Svyrydenko logged on to a virtual meeting this summer with me and CEOs from U.S. insurance carriers, she was holed up in a bunker.

I learned that she was joining us from a visit to the front lines of her nation's fight against Russia.

Even in an active war zone, Minister Svyrydenko harbored no doubts that the Ukrainian people would prevail, and she was laser-focused on laying the groundwork for Ukraine's reconstruction. I've met with her on several occasions, and each time have been impressed and truly inspired by her strength, stamina, brilliance, and courage.

With a deep knowledge of economics, a passion for leveraging Ukraine's assets in everything from agriculture to green tech, and a fierce opposition to corruption, Minister Svyrydenko is dedicated not just to rebuilding Ukraine, but also to developing a strong, free, and prosperous Ukrainian economy that achieves the ambitious goal of a $1 trillion GDP.

Minister Svyrydenko is emblematic of the Ukrainian people's resilience. With young, smart, and determined leaders like her at the helm, Ukraine's postwar future is looking brighter than ever.

Raimondo is the U.S. Secretary of Commerce

Shalanda Young

46 · SKILLED NEGOTIATOR

By Nancy Pelosi

Principled, strategic, and trusted—America is blessed by Shalanda Young's outstanding leadership. During her nearly 15 years with the House Appropriations Committee, Shalanda was masterful in helping marshal the power of the purse in response to harrowing moments: from an historic government shutdown to the pandemic. Simply put, she was indispensable.

Shalanda has an encyclopedic knowledge of the issues and the legislative process. And key to her effectiveness is that she has earned the trust of members of Congress, commanding respect from both sides of the aisle and both chambers of Congress.

Now, she is helping lay the foundation for our future. America's budget is a statement of values—and in her fierce fight for our values, Shalanda's unyielding commitment to working families shines through. As director of the Office of Management and Budget, her leadership gives us all hope.

Pelosi, a Democrat, is Speaker Emerita of the U.S. House of Representatives





Erika Hilton and Duda Salabert

30 AND 42
PIVOTAL FIGURES

Erika Hilton and Duda Salabert's political ascension to become the first transgender women in Brazil's National Congress has been rocky, riddled with death threats and hate. But the women, newly elected in a country where transgender individuals face a high risk of violence, are not letting that reality limit their legislative aspirations.

Salabert, who is passionate about tackling issues like homelessness and public transit, is in talks to run for mayor of Belo Horizonte, the sixth largest city in Brazil. And Hilton, who used to be a sex worker, introduced a bill in July that would implement quotas for transgender people in universities in an effort to decrease trans people's economic dependence on prostitution. "A higher education diploma can make the dream of leaving the streets come true for many of us, and, for the younger ones, the possibility of never entering that life," she tweeted. "It's not just trans people who will benefit. It will be all of Brazil."
—*Solcyré Burga*

SVYRYDENKO: HOLLIE ADAMS—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES; YOUNG: ALEX WONG—GETTY IMAGES; HILTON AND SALABERT: SOURCE PHOTO: MAURICIO SANTANA—GETTY IMAGES, MAURO PIMENTEL—AFP/GETTY IMAGES



PITA LIMJAROENRAT

43 • Ambitious reformer

The only thing more stunning than Pita Limjaroenrat's election victory was the radical agenda he ran on to achieve it. The Harvard graduate's upstart Move Forward Party secured 38% of votes in Thailand's May 14 ballot by promising to bridle the nation's armed forces and revered royal palace, scrap its controversial royal-defamation law, and end military conscription. But the byzantine nature of Thai democracy means Pita's path to power has been blocked by an unelected Senate and a flurry of legal challenges.

Pita says his political awakening began in New Zealand, where he was sent for school as a young man. Today, the dad of one may not be Prime Minister, but the reformist movement he leads promises to keep building momentum, especially among young Thais. "I'm proud of what we have achieved," Pita says. "And we can do a lot more to provide checks and balances in parliament and speak on the behalf of the people."
—*Charlie Campbell*

Toyin Ajayi

42 · DEMOCRATIZING HEALTH CARE

By Kenneth C. Frazier

Be seen. Be heard. Be healthy.

That is the mantra of Cityblock Health, a health care provider co-founded by CEO Dr. Toyin Ajayi that aims to increase access to high-quality care. As a young girl growing up in Nairobi during the AIDS epidemic, Toyin became attuned to how health care inequities affect certain groups based on racial, economic, and social characteristics. Years later, that recognition of how health care outcomes impact patients' social and economic capacity catalyzed Toyin's shift from full-time clinical practice in Boston to broader leadership.

Addressing social drivers of poor health and creating sustainable change for vulnerable communities has become her life's work. No one is better suited than this dedicated family physician turned health care activist and entrepreneur to transform our broken health care system into one that understands and serves all patients, bringing new meaning to the phrase "The doctor will see you now." Indeed!

Frazier is chairman of health assurance initiatives at General Catalyst, an investor in Cityblock Health





David Moinina Sengeh

36 · EDUCATION FOR ALL

By Melinda French Gates

David Moinina Sengeh has earned his place on this list several times over.

He first made a name for himself at MIT, where he used cutting-edge technology to improve the fit and feel of prosthetic limbs—an urgent need in the aftermath of the civil war in his home country of Sierra Leone. After that came his stint as a researcher at IBM, combatting algorithmic bias long before AI was the front-page issue it is today.

Now, David is the chief minister of Sierra Leone, where he's worked to revolutionize his country's education system to promote what he calls "radical inclusion." His signature achievement so far is ending a ban on pregnant girls attending school. David is not yet 40, and I have no doubt he has several more careers ahead of him. The breadth of his intellect makes it hard to predict what he'll do next—but what is clear about David is that empathy is his essence.

French Gates is founder of Pivotal Ventures and co-chair of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation

LIMJAROENRAT: SIRACHAI ARUNRUGSTICHAI—GETTY IMAGES; AJAYI: SIMI VIJAY AFUN-OGIDAN; SENGEH: NANA KOFI ACQUAH; LUNA: ZACK WITTMAN FOR TIME; YOUSAF: GABRIELLA DEMCZUK FOR TIME

ANNA PAULINA LUNA

34 • Shaking up D.C.

Most new members of Congress aim to spend their first term learning the ways of Capitol Hill. Anna Paulina Luna wants to change them. As the architect of the House GOP's censure of California Democrat Adam Schiff, who led Donald Trump's first impeachment, the charismatic Florida freshman is on a mission to disrupt the governing class. Some Republicans who initially opposed the measure fell in line after Luna orchestrated a social media backlash against them. It was a moment Luna was made for after running Hispanic outreach for the pro-Trump youth group Turning Point USA, where she mastered the art of provocative internet virality. Now the youngest House Republican is using her digital prowess to lead a new class of populists working to redefine the Republican Party.
—Eric Cortellessa





HUMZA YOUSAF

38 • Making history

By Leo Varadkar

I was pleased to meet First Minister Humza Yousaf for the first time recently at the British-Irish Council. We had a constructive meeting in which we pledged to continue to nurture the very positive relationship between Ireland and Scotland. We will work together to further deepen the links between our two countries from an economic and cultural point of view. I've no doubt that as a young, energetic leader, he will serve the Scottish people with the passion and dedication they deserve.

Humza, as the first South Asian leader of Scotland and the first Muslim leader of a Western democracy, has spoken of his belief that coming from a minority background gives him an important perspective when working to make his country a better and more equal place. I can identify with this, and I am pleased to say that Ireland has become a more progressive and equal country in recent years.

My door is always open to Humza to discuss issues of shared interest between our countries.

Varadkar is the Taoiseach of Ireland

Luis Donaldo Colosio Riojas

38 · SERVING HIS CITY

It wasn't a total surprise when Luis Donaldo Colosio Riojas, born to a well-known political family, decided to pursue public office. The son of a high-profile presidential candidate who was assassinated in a 1994 campaign, Colosio has cemented a broad base of support in the nearly two years since he's become the mayor of Monterrey, the capital of the northeastern state of Nuevo León and one of the largest cities in Mexico. While party members and the public have voiced support for a rumored future presidential run, Colosio has said that he has no immediate plans to add his name to the national ballot, instead opting to focus on adapting Monterrey to his vision of a peaceful, open, humane, sustainable, and prosperous community. His leadership has seen the city break records for cultural activities (like hosting the largest Mexican folk dance with nearly 1,100 Mexican participants), earn more than 11,000 new jobs in 2022, and attract investments worth more than $285 million.
—*Solcyré Burga*





Zooey Zephyr

35 · FORTHRIGHT LEGISLATOR

A record-breaking number of anti-LGBTQ+ bills made their way through state legislatures in 2023. In April, Montana state representative Zooey Zephyr called out one such bill that would restrict gender-affirming care in her state, saying that those who supported it would have "blood on your hands"—setting off a chain of events that would make her one of the anti-trans bills' most visible opponents coast to coast.

The majority-Republican body formally disciplined Zephyr by banning her from in-person debates for this year's legislative session, and allowing her to vote only remotely. But Zephyr kept showing up at the capitol to represent her district, fighting for a seat in the hallway, even as her access to entrances, bathrooms, and work-spaces was deactivated. Protests and national outcry ensued over Zephyr's punishment, which critics called extreme and undemocratic. The Montana bill passed, but in the months since, Zephyr—now widely known for her work to combat it—has continued to use her national profile to champion protections for transgender Americans.
—*Sanya Mansoor*

Roberta Metsola

44 · REFORMING EUROPE

By Ursula von der Leyen

Last year, Roberta Metsola made history by becoming the youngest-ever president of the European Parliament. There is one mission above all that she has put at the heart of her presidency: reconnecting the European Union with its citizens. Whenever she travels to one of the bloc's 27 member states, whatever the issues on the agenda, she always finds time to meet with local people. And she repeats a powerful message: Get involved. Do not ever give in to cynicism. You can be the engine of change.

Roberta also works tirelessly to make European institutions better and more transparent. When some European lawmakers were accused of taking bribes during the Qatargate scandal, she advocated tougher anticorruption rules around lobbying and financial disclosures to uphold the Parliament's credibility. She has made it very clear that politicians have to be role models.

Roberta's passion for Europe has led her to the highest seat in the European Parliament: now she is channeling it in the service of all Europeans.

Von der Leyen is the European Commission president





Balendra Shah

33 · RE-ENGINEERING KATHMANDU

When Balendra Shah emerged as the unlikely winner of Kathmandu's mayoral election in May 2022, his trademark square, black-and-gold sunglasses quickly began selling out in Nepal's capital. The 33-year-old, who has a master's degree in structural engineering, ran as an independent and used TikTok, Twitter, and Instagram to harness voter anger over the status quo—sparking a "Balen effect" that saw as many as 385 independent candidates triumph over veteran politicians in last spring's local elections. In a city still reeling from a deadly 2015 earthquake, Shah's campaign promises were simple but offered desperately needed fixes: better waste disposal and sanitation, safe drinking water, clean roads, and the preservation of cultural heritage alongside urban development. His efforts to make good on these promises have been met with scrutiny, including in regard to their impact on the city's poor and their reliance on demolishing buildings deemed illegal. Since coming into power, Shah has also signed agreements with officials to utilize landfill sites and announced plans to separate and dispose of nondegradable waste.
—*Astha Rajvanshi*



J.D. Vance

39 · FORGING A PATH

When J.D. Vance entered the Republican primary for last year's Ohio Senate race, the first-time candidate and best-selling author of *Hillbilly Elegy* initially looked like a long shot because of his past criticism of former President Donald Trump. But his ability to articulate a Trumpian populism—including comments critics called racist and sexist, and others embracing Trump's lies about the 2020 election—earned him Trump's endorsement anyway, and he went on to win the general election. Vance's backers, including right-wing billionaire Peter Thiel, see the 39-year-old Senator as part of a rising cohort of "new right" leaders. He has proved willing to take positions that go against the GOP grain, like championing new rail-safety regulations in the aftermath of the East Palestine derailment and opposing U.S. military aid to Ukraine. "Bipartisan foreign policy consensus has led the country astray," Vance wrote in an op-ed endorsing Trump for re-election, "Donald Trump's presidency marked the first real disruption to a failed consensus and the terrible consequences it wrought."

—Molly Ball



Jason Citron

38 · STEERING DISCORD

There aren't many who would confidently turn down $12 billion from Microsoft, but Jason Citron did. The 38-year-old is the co-founder and CEO of Discord, which blossomed over the pandemic into one of the world's most important social platforms. Stuck at home, people embraced its flexible nature: it offers group chat, audio calls, video calls, and more in one streamlined interface. When he turned down Microsoft's purchase offer in 2021, Citron bet on his own ability to grow the company. So far, it's worked: Discord now has a $15 billion valuation and reports 150 million monthly active users.

Discord's ease of use also means it is being used in all sorts of ways that even Citron may not have expected—from providing a way to interface with popular AI tools like Midjourney and ChatGPT to being the platform on which dozens of leaked Pentagon documents spread earlier this year. In June, it was also found to have been used in dozens of cases of child exploitation. Discord responded to the report by strengthening its child-safety policies. As the platform grows, Citron will have a crucial role in ensuring that it is used responsibly.

—Andrew R. Chow

Megan Davis

47 · A VOICE FOR RECOGNITION

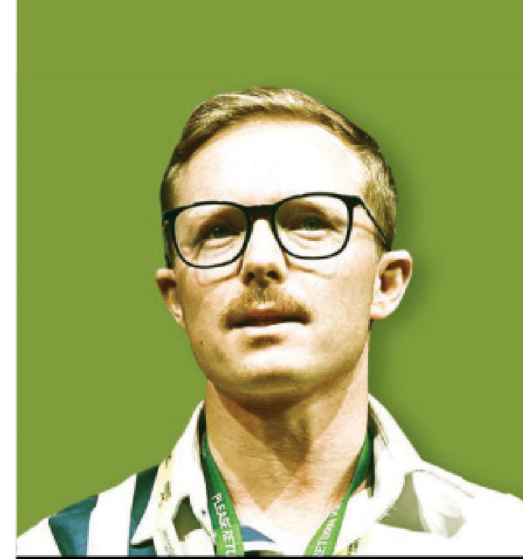
By Linda Burney

Professor Megan Davis will hold a very important chapter in the story of Australia. She has played an instrumental role in getting Australia to this historic moment; in a referendum later this year, the country has the opportunity to finally recognize Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in the Constitution. Constitutional recognition is an opportunity to acknowledge 65,000 years of culture and tradition.

Together with fellow advocates Pat Anderson and Noel Pearson, Professor Davis led some of the most extensive consultations with First Nations people that have ever occurred in Australia—culminating in the National Convention at Uluru in 2017. It was there that she first read the Statement from the Heart—an invitation to the Australian people from First Nations Australians to walk together to build a better future. Since then, Professor Davis has kept the fire for Uluru burning, sitting on expert panels and advising the government. She has done so with great dedication and determination.

Burney is the Minister for Indigenous Australians





Chris Pappas

32 · PRAGMATIC POLITICIAN

Since taking office as mayor of uMngeni, South Africa, in November 2021, Chris Pappas has managed to balance the municipality's budget for the first time in over a decade and added 175 new homes to the electricity grid. It's an impressive track record made possible by penny-pinching measures like a reduction in hiring.

His election itself was an unusual feat, in part because he's a white, gay, Zulu-speaking politician, in a municipality that is three-quarters Black in a country where most people vote along racial lines. But Pappas crossed those divides to speak to people in their own language, and won votes by emphasizing small but attainable improvements to daily life and municipal services above standard political loyalty.

"There is a need to have more administrative politicians, people who are not so focused on giving quality speeches, but are more focused on the outcomes of the policy implementation," says Pappas.

—Anna Gordon

COLOSIO: MARIAN CARRASQUERO—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES; ZEPHYR: TOMMY MARTINO—AP; METSOLA: NICOLAS ECONOMOU—NURPHOTO/GETTY IMAGES; SHAH: SAUMYA KHANDELWAL—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; VANCE: HAIYUN JIANG—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; CITRON: DAVID PAUL MORRIS—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES; DAVIS: BRENDON THORNE—GETTY IMAGES; PAPPAS: DEAAN VIVIER—RAPPORT/GALLO IMAGES/GETTY IMAGES



MICHAEL REGAN

47 • Working toward environmental equity

By Lisa Jackson

Environmental justice has always been deeply personal for me. As a New Orleans native, I saw from a young age how communities of color suffer disproportionately from environmental challenges. It's why I'm grateful that, today, environmental justice has a champion in EPA Administrator Michael Regan.

As the first Black man to lead the agency, Regan has helped make the issue a focal point of President Joe Biden's agenda. Regan has met with families in Louisiana's Cancer Alley who struggle to sleep because of the stench of toxic air. He's visited children in Jackson, Miss., who were forced to relocate schools because of the city's failing water infrastructure. He's traveled to Puerto Rico where, nearly six years after Hurricane Maria, many lack access to clean drinking water. Most importantly, Regan has followed stops like these with meaningful action. And with the launch of a new office dedicated to environmental justice and civil rights, his EPA has taken an important step rooted in the recognition that the two go hand in hand.

In talking with him, I'm always struck by Regan's optimism about the work that lies ahead. While many view worsening climate change and environmental threats as cause for despair, Regan sees the opportunity to build a more just and equitable world. With his leadership, it's an opportunity I am sure we will seize.

Jackson is Apple's vice president of environment, policy, and social initiatives and a former EPA administrator

Melanie Perkins

36 · CREATIVE FOUNDER

By Scott Farquhar

Be a force for good. Be a good human. Empower others. Make complex things simple. These words describe Melanie Perkins just as well as they describe the enviable business she has built alongside her co-founders.

Mel's two mantras, setting out-of-this-world goals and giving back, are what guide and drive her. Mel has a deep sense of justice in the world, and she practices what she preaches. She wants to solve some of the world's biggest problems and has a drive like no other to do so. She is committed to doing the right thing. Always.

In concert, her forever optimism and knack for bold, out-of-this-world vision are what make her one of this generation's best tech brains. She has led her graphic-design platform, Canva, to become a household name, one that is known, like Mel, for knowing no bounds.

Farquhar is a co-founder and co-CEO of Atlassian





Chiang Wan-an

44 · SHAPING A SHIFT

Elected in 2022 as Taipei's youngest-ever mayor, Chiang Wan-an has pledged to bring "new blood" to Taiwan's Kuomintang, or Nationalists. Reputedly Asia's oldest and richest political party, it's recently struggled to attract youth support because of its Beijing-friendly reputation. Chiang has taken a moderate view while emphasizing his commitment to the island's democracy. Although Chiang maintains he's focused on ambitious urban-development plans, he's increasingly tipped as a future presidential candidate. —*Koh Ewe*



Elly Schlein

38 · MAKING PROGRESS

Elly Schlein is not only the youngest person to lead Italy's center-left Democratic Party, but its first female and out LGBTQ+ leader too. She took the opposition party's helm in February in a victory that took most everyone by surprise. Now she's widely seen as the progressive answer to Giorgia Meloni, Italy's nationalist Prime Minister. But restoring trust in Italy's fragmented left will pose a challenge. "It's going to take time," she says, "but we're working on it."
—*Yasmeen Serhan*

REGAN: JEREMY M. LANGE; PERKINS: COURTESY CANVA; CHIANG: JAMESON WU—EYEPRESS/REDUX; SCHLEIN: SERGIONE INFUSO—GETTY IMAGES FOR MILANO PRIDE; ERI: KENTARO TAKAHASHI—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES; ROBERTS: CYNDI BROWN; HOLT: NATHAN J. FISH—THE OKLAHOMAN/REUTERS



ARFIYA ERI

34 • Political trailblazer

Rare is an understatement for what Arfiya Eri represents in Japan. The member of parliament, who took office in April, marks a sharp break from her peers. In Japan, some 90% of parliamentary or ministerial posts are held by men, the average age of lawmakers is 56, and officials routinely claim the nation is mono-racial. But Eri, 34, is of Uighur-Uzbek heritage and can speak, to varying degrees of fluency, English, Chinese, Uzbek, Turkish, Uighur, and Arabic, in addition to Japanese. Eri has become a champion of diversity in Japan, but she doesn't want the "old boys' club" running the country to see her as a threat. She ran within the ruling conservative Liberal Democratic Party, embracing many of Prime Minister Fumio Kishida's positions, and enjoying the support of Japan's popular digital minister Taro Kono. Eri has pitched herself as a bridge to better representation of the country's true diversity.
—*Chad de Guzman*



SARAH JAKES ROBERTS

35 • Caring pastor

By Tyler Perry

When your father is T.D. Jakes and you follow his footsteps into the world of ministry, there's a lot of pressure to find your own voice. I've known Sarah Jakes Roberts since she was a child, and just as much as she's her father's daughter, she's always stood out as totally and uniquely her own. She found her voice early.

Now, as co-pastor of the Potter's House churches in L.A. and Denver, that same voice speaks loudly to a generation desperately in need of compassion, teaching, and love. Her lived experience using the grace of prayer to find a way through personal pain and tragedy resonates deeply with so many. It's what has allowed her to connect with millions of other women through her incredible ministry and Woman Evolve conference. As Proverbs 22:6 says, "Train up a child in the way he should go; even when he is old he will not depart from it." This is all in Sarah's DNA. I couldn't be more proud.

Perry is a producer, writer, director, and philanthropist

David Holt

44 · MAYOR ON THE RISE

By Michael R. Bloomberg

One of the youngest mayors in the country is also one of the most dynamic and innovative. David Holt made history when he became the first Native American mayor of Oklahoma City, but it's his ambitious agenda that's captured national attention, including a $1.1 billion initiative (funded through a voter-approved penny increase in the sales tax) to improve transportation with more bus service and bike lanes; tackle homelessness, addiction, and domestic violence; upgrade parks; support small-business growth; and much more. Bloomberg Philanthropies, which works with mayors around the world, has been glad to support his relentless drive for innovation. He's a rising star not only among mayors—he is a vice president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors—but in the Republican Party too. He is helping to write a promising new chapter for his city, and as he does, he's demonstrating how the combination of ambitious plans with effective management is popular with voters in both parties.

Bloomberg, the 108th mayor of New York City, is the founder of Bloomberg LP and Bloomberg Philanthropies





Innovators

MORY SACKO

30 • Eclectic chef

By Omar Sy

I watched him from afar, making his way without fuss, then winning everything from *Top Chef* to a Michelin star for his Paris restaurant, MoSuke. Then one day, as a gift, Mory Sacko came to cook at my place.

I was already curious about Mory's rise to fame, because I'm touched by his background: he's the same age as my little brothers. A young Black man of Malian descent, one of nine children, he grew up in the suburbs of Paris reading manga and loving Japanese culture. The TV was his window on the world. Mory learned from his mother and her African dishes that to feed your people is to love them, to bring them together in pleasure and warmth.

His cuisine comprises everything that makes up his history: the tastes of France, Africa, and Japan. Mory has become a master of the culinary arts, and his recipe is to give up nothing of who he is.

Sy is an actor

PHOTOGRAPH BY TAREK MAWAD FOR TIME



MAE MARTIN

36 • Candid humor

By Elliot Page

One can only imagine how profound an impact Mae Martin has had across the world. If the way their work has affected me is any indication, that impact is immense. Their candor in speaking about sexuality, identity, and addiction—all while making us laugh endlessly—is not just life-affirming, but also life-altering. Mae has the power to crack you open, to release you from shame. Whether in their gorgeously written and stunningly performed television series or their stand-up specials, they resist the urge to hold back, and it is a true joy and inspiration to witness. They step forward gracefully but unapologetically, with confidence and undeniable brilliance, to remind us what being alive is all about: being our full, authentic selves. Mae has certainly done that for me.

Page is an activist, author, and Oscar- and Emmy-nominated actor

Mira Murati

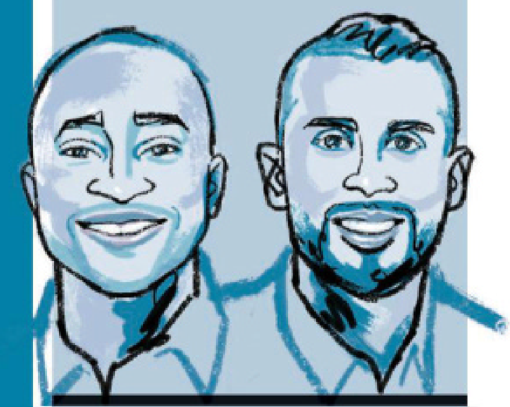
34 · ENGINEERING
WHAT'S NEXT IN AI

By Satya Nadella

Mira Murati has had a very impressive career as a leader in the tech industry, and most recently as OpenAI's chief technology officer. Through her dedication to democratizing AI, her ability to bring together diverse teams, and the fearlessness with which she tackles technical challenges, Mira has helped to scale the company from a startup to one of the most important AI companies in the world. As a prominent leader in one of the fastest-growing industries, she has a demonstrated ability to assemble teams with technical expertise, commercial acumen, and a deep appreciation for the importance of mission. As a result Mira has helped build some of the most exciting AI technologies we've ever seen, including ChatGPT, DALL-E, and GPT-4. At Microsoft we're fortunate to partner with OpenAI to safely and responsibly bring the benefits of this technology to every community and country around the world.

Nadella is the CEO and executive chairman of Microsoft





Wemimo Abbey and Samir Goel

31 AND 29
BRIDGING THE GAP

Wemimo Abbey's and Samir Goel's families faced many obstacles after immigrating to the U.S., including limited access to credit. Those challenges helped inspire a smart idea to help others in similar straits. In 2018, the pair founded Esusu, which helps people build credit in America by reporting tenants' on-time rent payments to credit bureaus.

Esusu has helped over 50,000 people establish credit scores, the company says. These records are a lifeline that can be used to buy cars, access mortgages, and even enroll in school. For those who fall behind on their rent, missed payments aren't reported, and Esusu also offers zero-interest loans to struggling families through a partnership with the charity Stable Home Fund.

The company has already reached a billion-dollar valuation, but the founders hope to expand its financial services even further and to help reduce the racial wealth gap. "Ultimately, we want people to be able to have financial wellness and create wealth in their own communities," Goel says. —*Tara Law*

MARTIN: JESSE GLAZZARD; MURATI: PHILIP PACHECO—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES; ABBEY AND GOEL: SOURCE PHOTOS: COURTESY ESUSU INC.



RAMY YOUSSEF

32 • Comic relief

By Ayo Edebiri

The moment I knew Ramy Youssef and I would be friends was on a flight. An honestly ancient woman sat next to him, ate boiled eggs, and incessantly asked him for tech help. Ramy in that moment was exactly who he always is: someone effortlessly navigating life's surreal tensions with kindness, humor, and undeniable charm.

Ramy's acclaimed work in stand-up, acting, writing, and directing all speak to that. His penchants for mischief and deep love for humanity live side by side, adding up to a worldview that's uniquely his own. His work makes you laugh. It makes you feel.

My favorite thing about Ramy is that he's a natural collaborator and caretaker, whether he's helping friends with their hours and shows or offering them a couch to sleep on. He cares as much about a script as he does about making you laugh until you can't see straight. He's a creative force this industry is lucky to have and an amazing friend. And I'm not just saying that because I sometimes sleep on his couch.

Edebiri is an Emmy-nominated actor

Harmanpreet Kaur

34 · LEADING CRICKETER

Time at the top has not dulled Harmanpreet Kaur's competitive streak. The Indian women's cricket captain secured legendary status back in 2017 when she scored a then record 171 not out off just 115 balls in a World Cup match against Australia, leaving spectators agog at her extraordinary talent. Fast-forward six years and Kaur is still making headlines—getting suspended for two matches and fined 75% of her match fee in July for criticizing umpires during India's draw against Bangladesh. Kaur's fire and flair have been instrumental in transforming women's cricket from fringe curiosity to one of the world's most valuable sporting assets, with only the WNBA worth more in female domestic sports than the inaugural Indian Women's Premier League, whose five franchises sold for a combined $570 million in January. And in March, Kaur led the Mumbai Indians to become the league's first champions.

—Charlie Campbell





Renee Wegrzyn

46 · PLACING BIG BETS

As the director of the new Advanced Research Projects Agency for Health, Renee Wegrzyn has the task of finding and funding major biomedical innovations. With a multibillion-dollar budget, she tests ideas that are too risky for the private sector; in August, the agency launched a program to find innovations to help cancer surgeons more precisely target tumor cells while leaving healthy cells undisturbed and improve the health outcomes of operations. *—Alice Park*



James Maynard

36 · BUZZY THEORIST

Oxford mathematician James Maynard is bringing excitement—and creativity—to the field of number theory. In the past 15 months, his groundbreaking research into prime numbers won him both a prestigious New Horizons prize and a Fields Medal, after solving complex problems that have stumped mathematicians for centuries. His dream? To one day show people the "beauty and creativity that's within pure mathematics research," he says. *—Anna Gordon*

YOUSSEF: SHARIF HAMZA—TRUNK ARCHIVE; KAUR: MATTHEW LEWIS—ICC/GETTY IMAGES; WEGRZYN: MATTHEW J. LEE—THE BOSTON GLOBE/GETTY IMAGES; MAYNARD: VESA MOILANEN—LEHTIKUVA/AFP/GETTY IMAGES; METRO BOOMIN: PRINCE WILLIAMS—WIREIMAGE/GETTY IMAGES; WEBER: MARZENA SKUBATZ—LAIF/REDUX; HYSOLLI: COLOSSAL BIOSCIENCES/JOHN DAVIDSON



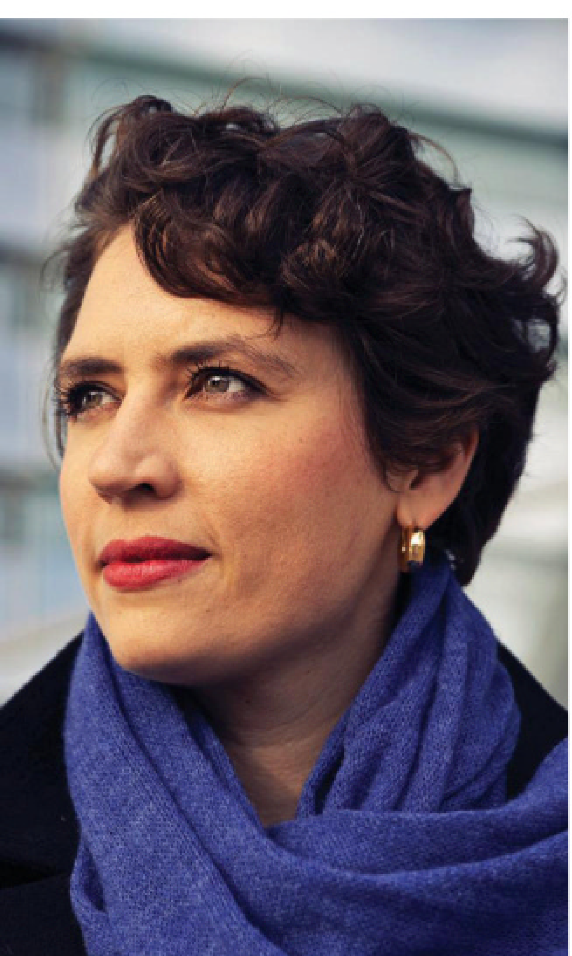
Metro Boomin

29 · HIP-HOP'S MAESTRO

By John Legend

Metro Boomin has helped to define the sound of the past decade of hip-hop. When I first heard of Metro Boomin, it was from his signature tags on tracks or shout-outs from the hugely successful artists he was producing for, like Future and Ye. I was impressed by the impactfulness of his work—there's an urgency to it, a signature heightened drama. Later, when I began working with him, I was struck by his sense of openness, humility, and creativity. As a collaborator, Metro always has great creative ideas, but what really sets him apart is his great energy. His work ethic is incredible, and the recent albums he's put out under his own name—including 2022's chart-topping *Heroes & Villains*—are testaments to this. It's clear that Metro Boomin is a leader, a trendsetter, a huge influence on music and culture. I'm excited to see what he will do next.

Legend is a Grammy-winning musician and activist



ISABELLA WEBER

35 • Informing economic policy

By Elizabeth Warren

When costs go up, corporate monopolies hike prices with astonishing speed. But then, as costs fall, these companies face little or no competition, so they keep their prices high and profit margins fat. Don't take my word for it; economist Isabella Weber has the receipts showing how price-gouging sellers push inflation higher. She's listened in on Wall Street earnings calls where executives brag about their pricing strategy. CEOs might see inflation as a chance to boost profits, but everyone else pays the price. Weber is challenging the conventional wisdom that giant companies don't price-gouge—and she's been proved right. Top officials in both Europe and the U.S. have started to acknowledge that corporate profits have become a key driver of inflation. Now what? She correctly identified how the Fed's extreme interest-rate hikes are ill-suited to address this profiteering, arguing it should pause its increases before throwing millions out of work. Our nation needs structural changes to promote competition and investment, and Weber's bold ideas are helping shift the economic paradigm.

Warren, a Democrat, is a U.S. Senator for Massachusetts



Eriona Hysolli

37 · CATALYZING A NEW KIND OF CONSERVATION

It's been 10 millennia since the last woolly mammoth roamed the North American mainland—though a handful managed to survive on nearby islands for a few thousand more years. Either way, the species is gone forever. Or maybe not. A team of researchers at Colossal Biosciences, led by the company's head of biological sciences, Eriona Hysolli, aims to effectively de-extinct the mammoth before the end of this decade. In 2022, Hysolli and her team announced that they had sequenced the entire genome of the Asian elephant, which shares 99.8% of its genes with the mammoth. Manipulating the genome to add traits like smaller ears, additional body fat, and, of course, the woolly coat that allowed the mammoth to thrive in the tundra, the researchers could then implant a woolly mammoth embryo in the womb of a modern-day elephant. The technique could eventually be used to restore other extinct species like the dodo, or protect those that are endangered, including the Bengal tiger. That potential has generated excitement among investors, and the company has plans to raise an additional $150 million to fund its work. *—Jeffrey Kluger*

Ronald Acuña Jr.

25 · TALK OF THE LEAGUE

By Miguel Cabrera

Ronald? He has a great chance of becoming the best Venezuelan-born baseball player ever. It's as simple as that.

But Ronald is more than just his statistics. He is the kind of player that fans pay to watch play. He can change the game with a single hit, his defense, or his baserunning.

We who know him know that the electricity we see on the field is just one part of who he is. Ronald is a quiet person. He has self-control, and that's important. That control will work for him in key moments during his developing career.

He is a young player, and I foresee him having more than one 40-40 season. I hope God keeps him healthy so he can reach 3,000 hits and 500 home runs. You know, I don't want to be the lone Venezuelan on that list.

Cabrera is a major league baseball player for the Detroit Tigers





Kristen Kish

39 · RISING TO THE TOP

Replacing *Top Chef*'s host and judge Padma Lakshmi after 17 years was going to be near impossible. Lakshmi not only brought expertise to her role on the Emmy-winning culinary-competition series, but also fought behind the scenes for a more diverse array of contestants to expose the show's audience to non-Eurocentric cuisines. Not just anyone can utter "Please pack your knives and go" with Lakshmi's authority.

The only evident possible replacement to join Tom Colicchio and Gail Simmons at the judges' table was Kristen Kish, who won Season 10 of *Top Chef* and has spent the decade since opening the much hyped Arlo Grey in Austin, publishing a cookbook, and hosting food shows. Kish, a gay Korean adoptee who grew up in Michigan, represents the next wave of celebrity chefs. Her style is a mashup of her lived experiences: Arlo Grey features both a pasta dish inspired by the Hamburger Helper of her Midwestern childhood and a spray-painted mural of a favorite book, *The Korean Cinderella* by Shirley Climo. Kish will put her imprint on the show's 21st season, filming in Wisconsin. —*Eliana Dockterman*

Emily Adams Bode Aujla

34 · FASHION FORWARD

By Tyler Mitchell

It feels really beautiful to be friends with Emily Adams Bode Aujla. There's a whole world of creativity swirling around her all the time—she lives her life as if it were a work of art.

I was drawn into Emily's multisensory New York City universe in 2021, five years after she founded her luxury fashion brand, Bode, and have been lucky enough to be dressed by her for two Met Galas since.

Known for her elegant menswear line, Emily perfectly blends sumptuous fabrics and rigorous historical research in her work to create unique and timeless pieces. Using the past as a portal, she manages to create designs that feel distinctly modern. Bode's fashion is history for now.

Emily and her brand are truly unlike any other, and it's so exciting to watch both continue to expand in new directions, as with the launch of Bode's long-awaited womenswear collection earlier this year. She lives and breathes her work, and it's paying off—Emily's revolutionizing American luxury.

Mitchell is a photographer





Kristina Dahl

45 · CAPTURING IMPACT

By David Wallace-Wells

Whose responsibility is a wildfire? It is a kind of existential koan for fire scientists, given how many factors contribute. But this May, as off-the-charts Canadian fires burned, the Union of Concerned Scientists' Kristina Dahl and her colleagues offered a spellbinding accounting: carbon emissions from the world's largest fossil-fuel companies and cement makers were responsible for 37% of recent wildfire activity in the North American West. It was only the latest remarkable work from one of the great geographers of our disorienting new world.

Those worrying most over climate have long lamented that its impacts are too diffuse to appreciate and too distant in the future to really motivate people. In recent years, the weather itself has rewritten those rules. But so has Dahl's work: on extreme heat, sea-level rise, and the evacuation complications of compound disasters. These days, even the most informed among us can feel like they are navigating a terrifying future without a map. Dahl provides one. And then another, and then another.

***Wallace-Wells is a journalist and author of* The Uninhabitable Earth**

Anastasia Volkova

32 · SEEDING CHANGE

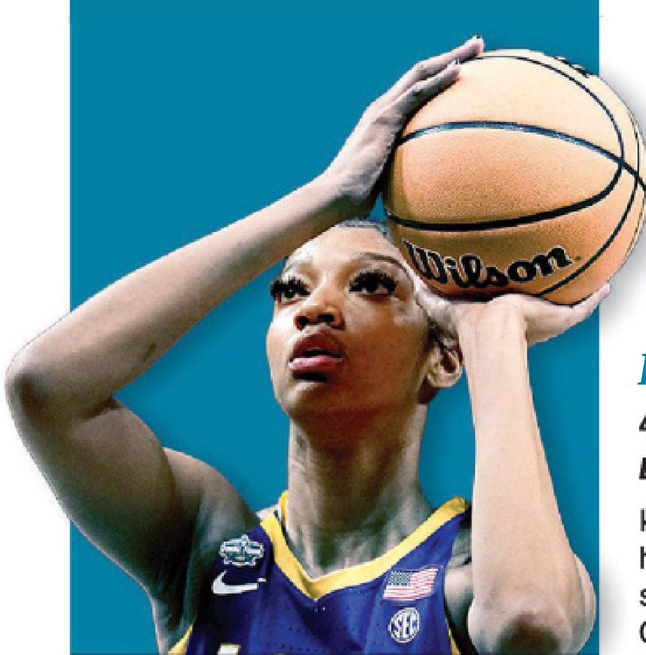
By Tom Steyer

The climate crisis will impact everything, including the food on our plates. To adapt, the agriculture industry needs to both monitor emissions and adopt sustainable farming practices that will reduce them. Fortunately, there are visionaries like Anastasia Volkova, CEO of Regrow Ag.

The goddaughter of a farmer, Volkova recognized the problems with large-scale agriculture at a young age. Now, she's on a mission to help the industry adjust. Her software company empowers giants like General Mills and Kellogg's to help meet their climate targets by providing measurement and monitoring capabilities to quantify and reduce emissions across farm supply chains. Today, the company monitors 1.2 billion acres. I'm proud that Galvanize Climate Solutions has invested in and supports a leader revolutionizing the way we approach food production and helping create a more sustainable future.

Steyer is a philanthropist and a co-executive chair of Galvanize Climate Solutions





Angel Reese

21 · POWER PLAYER

By Candace Parker

Angel Reese is having more than just a moment. She's just getting started. Earlier this year, she helped Louisiana State University win its first-ever women's basketball national title and, in the process, happened to set a record by tallying 34 double-doubles, the most in a single season in women's college-basketball history. There's really only one time you won't see me cheering for Angel, and it's when she plays against my alma mater, the University of Tennessee. It's all well and good . . . but I still bleed orange.

She's ripping the sport open and tearing back the layers. Basketball is about work, effort, and energy, and Angel always brings all three. Her tenacity and confidence on the court make her such an exciting player to watch—it's incredible to see her stand in her power and make such a big impact on women's basketball, especially this early in her career.

Parker is an WNBA player for the Las Vegas Aces

Kate Ryder

41 · MARKET LEADER

By Whitney Wolfe Herd

Kate Ryder was ahead of her time when, in 2014, she founded Maven Clinic. She weathered dozens of rejections from investors who didn't understand the need for a 24/7, on-demand, comprehensive reproductive health care platform. But Kate plowed ahead, fueled by her certainty that women's health care wasn't a niche market. Her truly pioneering move was to start working with businesses, including Bumble, allowing companies to support employees' seeking access to a whole spectrum of reproductive-health and family-planning services. What could be more critical for businesses right now, with the health care rights of half their workforces under siege? Kate's foresight has also had a monumental knock-on effect: thanks to Maven's care, more women are able to succeed at work. Today, Maven is valued at over $1 billion—the only U.S. company focused on women's health care to reach this milestone. Am I surprised at its ascent? Not at all. It just took a while for the market to catch up with Kate Ryder.

Wolfe Herd is founder and CEO of Bumble





Silver Iocovozzi

33 · METICULOUS TASTE

By Angela Dimayuga

My first taste of the duck-breast adobo at Neng Jr.'s, Silver Iocovozzi's Asheville, N.C., restaurant, made me feel like a handsome NBA superstar dining at Le Bernardin—it was that special. The dish had both the essential Indigenous flavors of umami-sour soy-vinegar and a luscious layering of rich fortification by an expert *saucier.*

Silver has always had a point of view with a steadfast vision—they know what they want, and they can see where they are headed. They take a meticulous approach to studying, referencing, and annotating flavor, as the best chefs do.

And they've always cooked how they live, with bold curiosity and vigor. Queer trans folks integrate to survive, and so do Filipinos. We aim to thrive with style and gusto. With Silver's presence and culinary contributions, you can taste their addition to our histories.

Dimayuga is a chef and author

ACUÑA JR.: RICH SCHULTZ—GETTY IMAGES; KISH: DAVID MOIR—BRAVO/GETTY IMAGES; AUJLA: ANDREW JACOBS; DAHL: COURTESY KRISTINA DAHL; VOLKOVA: BRYAN VAN DER BEEK—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES; REESE: TONY GUTIERREZ—AP; RYDER: VICTOR LLORENTE; IOCOVOZZI: DALLAS HOUSTON

Advocates

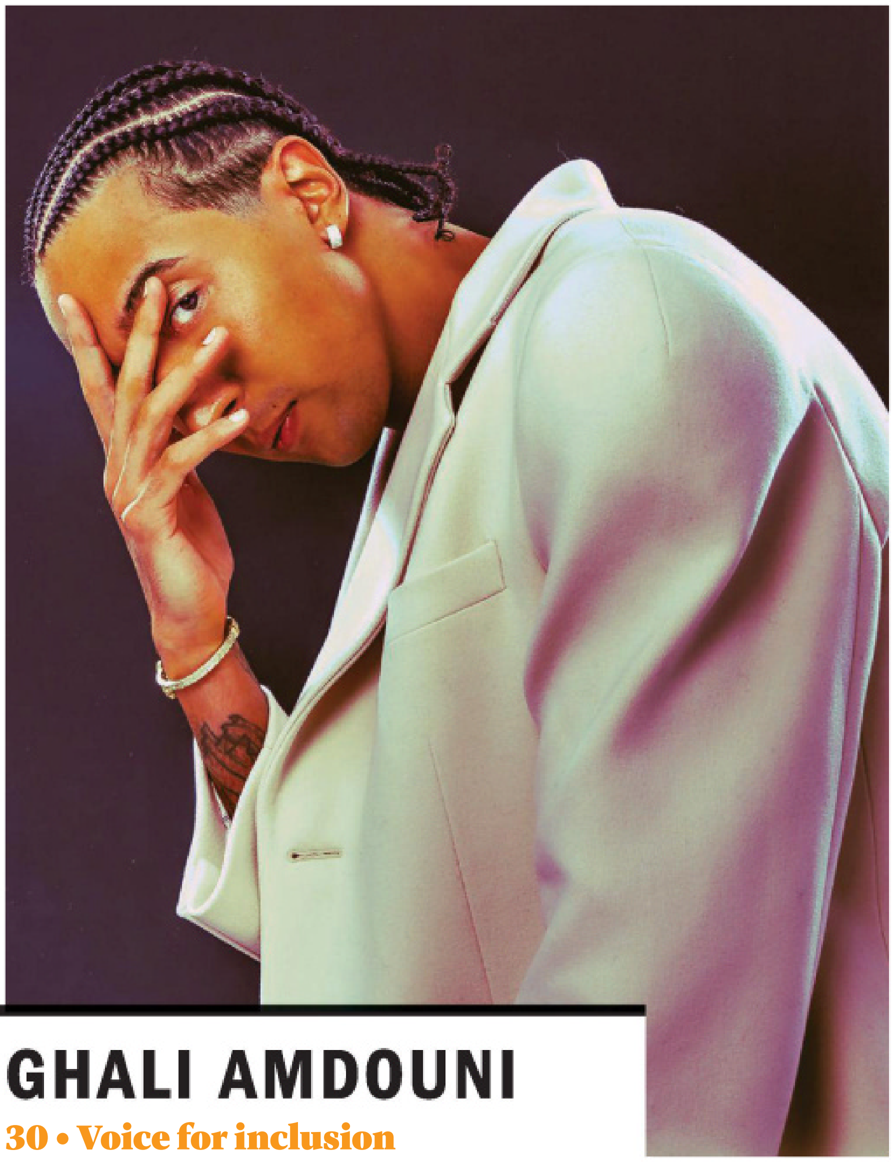


TXAI SURUÍ

26 • Protecting Native lands

Txai Suruí already has the kind of credentials accumulated across a lifetime of advocacy. A member of the Paiter Suruí Indigenous community in Brazil, the 26-year-old activist founded the Indigenous Youth Movement of Rondônia, which rallies young people in her state, and coordinates the Associação de Defesa Etnoambiental—Kanindé, a community organization that has worked with Indigenous people for over 30 years. Suruí also was the first woman in her community to obtain a law degree, which she used, with peers, to sue the Brazilian government for defaulting on its emissions commitments under the Paris Agreement. With the help of cameras, drones, and GPS technology, she works with her community to monitor land invasions and improve accountability. Suruí says that defending human rights entails protecting the rights and lands of Indigenous peoples: "We are children of Mother Earth. We are proposing solutions to postpone the end of the world." *—Armani Syed*

PHOTOGRAPH BY GABI DI BELLA



GHALI AMDOUNI

30 • Voice for inclusion

Italian-born rapper Ghali Amdouni is a genre-defining force within the country's trap scene. But away from the recording studio, Ghali has become a leading advocate for migrant rights at a time when xenophobic rhetoric is dominant in Italy. Last summer, he donated an inflatable boat to a nonprofit rescuing migrants at sea. The boat has yet to be deployed for a rescue mission because of political restrictions, despite the thousands of annual fatalities in the Mediterranean Sea. This year, Ghali joined volunteers on an orange rescue dinghy in Trapani, where he observed how to perform at-sea rescues. Born to Tunisian parents, 30-year-old Ghali did not hold Italian citizenship for over half his lifetime, thanks to strict citizenship laws for the children of migrants. But the rapper says he is as Italian as he is Tunisian. His lyrics bring communities together by blending Arabic, French, and English in what he calls "an unstable fusion" of his identities. He says, "I stitched scenes of life and emotions that were at the periphery of the Italian mind and brought them center stage." —*Armani Syed*

Adam Conover

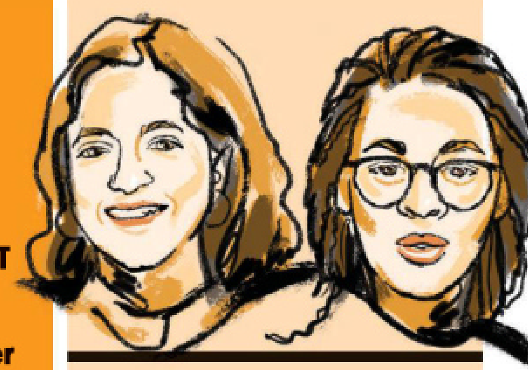
40 · RALLYING SUPPORT

By Michael Schur

Comedian Adam Conover first became famous by ruining things. Specifically, things people *like*. National monuments, weddings, orange juice—one by one he walked us all through why these things are messed up, wrong, bad, tainted, problematic. He knew how annoying it is to walk around ruining things, but he just kept firing jokes and facts and science at us, grinning maniacally from under an improbable blond pompadour. He was like a Pixar superhero called the Fact Checker. But he doesn't ruin things just to ruin them. He does it because he hates, above all, injustice—as seen in his work to rally support for the WGA and SAG-AFTRA strikes. He hates bullies and scam artists and powerful institutions that abuse the public for profit. In a world of asymmetrical power structures, where unions and workers and consumers are bruised by arcane rules and rigged systems, Adam suddenly pops into frame, points out how things really work, and offers ideas for how to fight back. I hope he keeps ruining things forever.

Schur is an Emmy-winning writer and producer





Nandita Venkatesan and Phumeza Tisile

33, 33 · FIGHTING FOR PATIENTS

Tuberculosis survivors Nandita Venkatesan and Phumeza Tisile both lost their hearing during their bouts with a multidrug-resistant version of the disease—a side effect of the toxic cocktail of drugs they took during treatment. Johnson & Johnson has created a safer and more effective drug to treat TB, but patent laws made it inaccessible for many worldwide—and, with the initial patent set to expire in many countries this past July, the company filed for another, which would extend its monopoly.

Together with Médecins Sans Frontières, Venkatesan and Tisile, longtime advocates based in India and South Africa respectively, filed a petition with the Indian government to deny the secondary patent—thus making way for cheaper generics. In March, India rejected the secondary patent, a landmark victory that will help make the drug available at a much lower price. Separately, Johnson & Johnson announced an agreement this summer that will make generic versions more accessible in lower-income countries. "We had to undergo what we had to undergo," says Venkatesan. "But maybe we could prevent this from happening to others." —*Anna Gordon*

AMDOUNI: ANDREA ARIANO; CONOVER: MOMODU MANSARAY—GETTY IMAGES; VENKATESAN AND TISILE: SOURCE PHOTOS: COURTESY NANDITA VENKATESAN, DR. ARNE VON DELFT—TB PROOF

Rina Gonoi

23 · SILENCE BREAKER

By Shiori Ito

Japan officially lives in the Reiwa era, which means "order and harmony." But Rina Gonoi may have broken that "order and harmony" for good—in more ways than one—when she became an advocate against sexual abuse. Rina's dream as a child was to serve in the Japanese Self-Defense Forces following her rescue by female soldiers after the 2011 Tohoku earthquake and tsunami.

That dream turned into a nightmare when she experienced sexual violence while serving, and then struggled to report the violence in an institution where more than 90% of soldiers are male. She left the military in 2022, and bravely launched a public campaign to demand truth and accountability. The resulting wave of support pushed officials to take action, launching a larger investigation into cases of harassment within the military, and prompted countless other women to come forward with their own stories. In Japanese society, speaking up about sexual violence has long been a taboo, but Rina's courage has kicked the door open for all survivors.

Ito is a journalist, filmmaker, and gender-rights advocate





Rikki Held

22 · SUING FOR ENVIRONMENTAL RIGHTS

Young people have spent their entire lives surrounded by the effects of climate change. That's why Rikki Held stepped forward to become the lead plaintiff in a lawsuit brought by Our Children's Trust—a not-for-profit law firm that specializes in environmental cases—suing the state of Montana for violating its own constitutional guarantee that it would provide citizens "a clean and healthful environment." The case, *Held v. State of Montana,* was the first constitutional and the first youth-led climate lawsuit to go to trial in the U.S., and it resulted in a historic ruling—one that could provide a road map for similar efforts. On Aug. 14, the Montana District Court sided with Held and her fellow young plaintiffs, ages 5 to Held's 22. It is now up to Montana's legislature to bring its laws in line with the state constitution. With the trial over, Held plans to pursue a graduate degree in climate or hydrology—and to continue her green activism going forward.

—Jeffrey Kluger

Duaa Tariq

30 · ORGANIZING GRASSROOTS AID

In 2019, when the people of Sudan brought down the military dictatorship that had ruled the African nation for 30 years, it was by that rare thing: a peaceful, leaderless revolution. The movement was guided by both the professional class and grassroots activists like Duaa Tariq, who helped organize protests as part of a neighborhood resistance committee and, as a founder of the socially conscious art group ColorSudan, seeded a path forward. In 2021, the military returned to power in a coup, and this year turned Khartoum, Sudan's capital, into a war zone. ColorSudan responded with antiwar graffiti in the streets and drawing sessions to help children deal with trauma, efforts originating from the emergency-response rooms where residents keep the half-emptied capital running and a movement alive. By day, locals distribute what Tariq calls "decolonized and localized aid." Night finds her among the young activists moving through the neighborhood chanting, "You're safe. Don't be scared ... Even when it gets dark and ugly, we are here around you."

—Karl Vick





Daria Kaleniuk

36 · UKRAINIAN PATRIOT

By Kenneth Roth

Daria Kaleniuk first gained prominence fighting corruption in Ukraine—a major impediment to the country's democratic project. But Russia's full-scale invasion forced the country's most prominent anticorruption activist to shift focus.

Kaleniuk has since become a leading civil-society voice for Ukraine's defense. Having co-founded the International Centre for Ukrainian Victory, she reminds all of us of what's at stake. Ukraine is on the front line for democracies in fending off autocratic assault. And Ukraine fights for its territorial integrity so that other nations need not suffer a similar fate.

Kaleniuk shines a spotlight on Russian war crimes by detailing the personal consequences for individual Ukrainians. And she shames the oligarchs and companies who profit by pumping money into the Russian war machine.

Her passion for her country's independence and freedom is a powerful complement to the troops confronting Russian forces in the fields and trenches. She reminds us why this is a battle worth waging.

Roth is a visiting professor at Princeton and the former executive director of Human Rights Watch

Nick Higgins

45 · CHALLENGING BOOK BANS

By George M. Johnson

The freedom to read is a right everyone should be afforded. Nick Higgins, the chief librarian at Brooklyn Public Library, has ensured that this freedom will endure. Through the library's Books Unbanned program—which allows young people to browse its digital collections, regardless of where they live in the U.S.—Nick and his team have led the charge to provide free access to books that are being challenged and removed from library shelves across the country.

We often hear about Superman and Batman, but in the real world, librarians are superheroes. They may be the first to know what a child or young adult is dealing with simply based on the books they are checking out. The Books Unbanned program has allowed thousands of teens across the country to read lifesaving books that otherwise would be unavailable. Nick Higgins' dedication to fighting censorship will forever change the lives and trajectories of kids who rarely get to see themselves reflected on the page.

Johnson is the author of All Boys Aren't Blue





Mercy Mutemi

34 · HOLDING BIG TECH TO ACCOUNT

Meta is currently facing three cases that threaten to fundamentally change how it does business—and the fearless lawyer Mercy Mutemi is playing a vital role in all three. She represents two Ethiopians suing Facebook's parent company for allegedly inciting racial violence in the country's two-year civil war, which officially ended in November; one of the men says his father was killed in 2021 as a result of ethnically charged misinformation on Facebook. In two other cases, Mutemi represents Kenya-based outsourced human moderators whose job is to remove such content. Low pay, meager mental-health protections, and precarious employment all contribute to Meta's failures to protect its users' safety, Mutemi has argued.

Though each case is still working its way through the Kenya courts, a judge recently ruled in Mutemi's favor, declaring that Kenya did indeed have the jurisdiction to hear a case against Meta despite the multinational corporation's not being based in the East African country. The decision meant Meta would for the first time in its history be "significantly subjected to a court of law in the Global South," according to Amnesty International. —*Billy Perrigo*

Yana Zinkevych

28 · FRONTLINE HERO

For nearly a decade, Yana Zinkevych has been instrumental in saving Ukrainian lives on the front lines. The 28-year-old military veteran is the commander of a Ukrainian civilian medical battalion known as the Hospitallers—not to mention one of the country's youngest members of parliament. In 2014, when conflict with Russia broke out in eastern Ukraine, Zinkevych was preparing to study medicine. She paused her studies to aid those injured in the fighting, soon founding the Hospitallers to equip others to do the same. Zinkevych herself led over 200 wounded soldiers to safety before being injured in 2015, and under her leadership the group has assisted and evacuated thousands of service people and civilians. But over the course of this year, the Hospitallers have raised more money for their dedicated training center with specialized equipment, where Zinkevych's team can ready the next generation of volunteer paramedics. *—Armani Syed*





Nabarun Dasgupta

44 · SAVING LIVES WITH SCIENCE

Few Americans have done more to prevent drug-overdose deaths than Nabarun Dasgupta. In the past few years, the scientist at the University of North Carolina's Gillings School of Global Public Health helped launch a program through the nonprofit Remedy Alliance that cleared bottlenecks stopping the opioid-overdose-reversing drug naloxone from getting to the front lines. After creating new supply arrangements and buying the treatment in bulk, the organization distributed over 1.6 million doses across the country in the past year, helping end a life-threatening shortage of the drug.

Dasgupta—who keeps photos of people who have died of drug overdoses on his desk, to remind him of how much work there is yet to be done—also devised a system of swabbing street drugs and testing them at UNC, collecting valuable information to help scientists and drug users alike. His aim, he says, is to use science to answer big questions about drugs. "With 100,000 people dying a year, it's not theoretical," he says. —*Tara Law*

GONOI: SHIHO FUKADA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY IMAGES; HELD: WILLIAM CAMPBELL—GETTY IMAGES; TARIQ: COURTESY DUAA TARIQ; KALENIUK: ZUMA/ALAMY; HIGGINS: GREGG RICHARDS; MUTEMI: HILLTOWN AGENCY; ZINKEVYCH: UKRINFORM/ALAMY; DASGUPTA: HEATHER CRAIG



JOHN CHWEYA

32 • The backbone of recycling

When John Chweya was 11 years old, a market fire in Kisumu, Kenya, destroyed his family's used-clothing business. To make ends meet, Chweya collected recyclables from garbage dumps. The work earned him a paltry salary, along with the derision of former friends.

Now 32, and the leader of Kenya's 36,000-strong Waste Pickers Association, Chweya is taking on those who shun his line of work. He tells fellow Kenyans that without scavengers like him, very little of the country's trash would ever be recycled—it is estimated that the world's 20 million waste pickers are responsible for collecting 60% of recycled plastic globally.

In May, Chweya called for a more sustainable approach to plastic at a U.N. conference in Paris dedicated to ending plastic pollution. Because single-use plastics have no recycling value, waste pickers won't collect them. So they are incinerated instead, which poses a risk to the health of waste pickers, not to mention the environment. "If it is not recyclable, it should not be produced," he says.

But wouldn't a binding global treaty that reduces plastic production put Chweya and millions of waste pickers out of a job? Kenya, like far too many places around the world, has enough plastic in landfills to keep the country's waste pickers busy for another 100 years, he says. *—Aryn Baker*

Cynthia Houniuhi

29 · PACIFIC PROTECTOR

By Mary Robinson

Earlier this year, the Pacific Island Students Fighting Climate Change (PISFCC) demonstrated how powerful youth-led, collective action can be. The group's president, Cynthia Houniuhi, saw the devastating impact of climate change on Pacific Island communities and refused to sit idly by.

Cynthia and her peers were instrumental in driving a U.N. resolution calling on the International Court of Justice to issue an advisory opinion clarifying nations' obligations to tackle climate change. What began as student advocacy quickly grew into a global campaign adopted by Pacific countries and hundreds of governments around the world, all demanding more be done to hold nations accountable for their action—or inaction—on the climate crisis. Climate solutions must be rooted in solidarity, justice, and compassion: values Cynthia and the PISFCC championed so boldly. Leaders must do what is needed to ensure the livable future young people deserve.

Robinson is chair of The Elders and a former President of Ireland





Andreas Flouris

44 · BEATING THE HEAT

Outdoor laborers are bearing the brunt of this summer's unprecedented heat. Environmental physiologist Andreas Flouris of the University of Thessaly in Greece is leading the effort to apply hard science to labor policy, helping governments around the world establish rest and rehydration protocols for high-heat conditions. Flouris is also developing a weather app that factors in local conditions to better inform workers, and their employers, on how to stay safe. *—Aryn Baker*



Peter Reinhardt

33 · STORING CO_2

Charm Industrial CEO Peter Reinhardt is developing a new way to sequester CO_2. Charm uses high heat to convert biomass from overgrown forests and agricultural sources into "bio oil," then stores that liquid in former oil wells—preventing the plants from releasing CO_2 into the atmosphere upon decomposition. The method has attracted a lot of attention in the world of carbon removal, with Charm raising $100 million in June. *—Alejandro de la Garza*

CHWEYA: EDWIN NYAMASYO; HOUNIUHI: CORDELIA HSU—REUTERS; FLOURIS: COURTESY ANDREAS FLOURIS; REINHARDT: COURTESY PETER REINHARDT

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ABEBA BIRHANE

Checking the data

By Margaret Mitchell

Shining light on toxic patterns in AI is not for the faint of heart. The realities of racism, misogyny, and hate that underlie modern advances in technology are difficult to face, let alone address. Yet Abeba Birhane fearlessly dives deep, critically analyzing AI datasets, models, and culture to unearth fundamental problems in today's systems. Dr. Birhane's groundbreaking research has articulated how beliefs and values affect whom technology serves—and whom it harms. She stays focused on the people behind each data point AI learns from, and has been key in pinpointing the problem of "digital colonialism," including the exploitative technology practices in her native continent of Africa.

Birhane's work reveals hard and painful truths in the face of an industry claiming it will help all of humanity while pouring billions of dollars into driving AI forward with blinders on. Her writing and advocacy are fundamentally shaping how AI is understood and, hopefully, what it will become.

Mitchell is the chief AI ethics scientist at Hugging Face



DYLAN BRANDT

17 • Triumphant plaintiff

By Miss Major Griffin-Gracy

I met Dylan Brandt at the courthouse in 2021 when he first challenged Arkansas' ridiculous law banning gender-affirming care for trans kids. He was so kind, despite what he was going through at the time. The way things are in this world, it's hard to grow up and be your true self; we have to bend here and bow there. But Dylan is a young man who knows how to fight, fight, fight. People will always remember that he fought for trans kids in Arkansas—and, in June of this year, won a landmark victory when a federal judge struck down the ban on gender-affirming care. Hopefully his success encourages other folks across the U.S. to stand up and fight against all of the continued bullsh-t that the transgender community has to deal with. Now, Dylan deserves to have peace, quiet, and enjoyment—and a long and happy life. I love him so much and I wish him well. If he's ever in Little Rock, he's always welcome at the Oasis.

Miss Major is an activist and the founder of House of GG in Little Rock, Ark.

BIRHANE: LAURENCE MCMAHON; BRANDT: LIZ SANDERS—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX



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